University of Alberta

Praise and Empowerment:
Performing Mapambio in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

by

Kathleen Joy Warke ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Praise and Empowerment: Performing Mapambio in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania" submitted by Kathleen Joy Warke in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Abstract

In this thesis, I examine the role of mapambio performance in the experience of social identity, religious meaning, and empowerment among certain Christian communities in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. On one level, the thesis is a genre study: no previous academic work has focused on these orally-transmitted, responsorial choruses. It is also an exploration of religious experience, of the role of charismatic Christianity within the heterogeneous cultural and religious history of Lutherans in Dar es Salaam. Most of all, it is a discussion of how some Lutheran Tanzanians, through the process of mapambio performance, come to experience agency and empowerment through the construction and affirmation of social identity and community, and through spiritual fulfillment.

Preface

Research for this project was carried out in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in June and July 1997. All interviews and conversations quoted throughout the thesis were conducted in English, which along with Kiswahili is a national language of Tanzania. The latter, a *lingua franca* that developed through historical contact between Arab traders and some of Tanzania's 120 *makabila* (ethnic groups), is the more widely spoken language in the country. Most Tanzanians speak Kiswahili as a first or second language, and in Dar es Salaam it is the language used in schools, churches, and public life. Throughout this thesis, when terms in Kiswahili are first used, they will be presented in italics, followed by a translation, where applicable. Thereafter, they will be presented in normal font. I use common spellings, with reference to *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, reprinted 1995.

Mapambio, the name for the call-and-response choruses on which this thesis is focused, has a root meaning of "to decorate, or elaborate" (Gunderson 1991: 30). Readers should note that "ma-" is a pluralizer for one class of nouns; throughout the thesis *mapambio* refers to more than one chorus or the musical genre as a whole, whereas *pambio* refers to a single song. For most Kiswahili words, emphasis is placed on the penultimate syllable; note, however, that syllabic stress is much less than in English (Russell 1996: 7).

Vowels are open and long, as in Italian. Thus, "mapambio" is pronounced mah-pahm-BEE-oh.

The thesis focuses on musical and social behaviour of a certain Christian sub-culture in Tanzania, referred to in Kiswahili as *waokoka* (saved people). I have chosen to anglicize this term with the adjective "charismatic." In Tanzania, I found the terms "Pentecostal," "fundamental(-ist)", "charismatic", "evangelical", "born again," and "*kuokoka*" (to be saved) to be used interchangeably to describe the people, theology, and music connected to the recent evangelical revival. My experience is confirmed by Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, who state that "the terms 'fundamentalist' and 'evangelical' cannot be used in Africa to suggest any distinction from 'Pentecostal.' Even though in the West, in the U.S. particularly, this distinction is often important, in Africa today these three terms seem virtually interchangeable" (1996: 155). I have chosen to use the term "charismatic" to refer to the people, beliefs, activities and music associated with this kind of Christian faith because it cannot be interpreted as denominationally specific but clearly refers to perhaps the most distinctive attribute of the movement in Tanzania: "*charismata*," the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

The thesis is accompanied by an audio tape of recorded examples. With two exceptions, these examples are field recordings made by myself with verbal approval from the leader(s) of participating choirs. These recordings are not to be replicated, nor used for any commercial purpose. I have also supplemented one recorded example with a musical transcription, in order to clarify certain characteristics. I have chosen to limit the number of transcriptions in favour of recorded examples, for the following reasons. First, mapambio, the choruses on which I focus, are highly repetitive and easily accessible by ear; as such, transcription seems unnecessary. Second, Ipiana Thom, George Njabili, and other Tanzanian musicians with whom I studied make a clear distinction between notated music, such as the hymns introduced to Tanzania by Western missionaries, and the improvised music they prefer to perform. Notated music is seen as limiting, whereas improvised music, which originates in the feelings and experience of the moment, is more likely to be inspired by the Holy Spirit. As such, improvised music is better suited to communication with the Divine. George Njabili put it this way, "I know that even the notations [notated music] is coming from feeling. The only thing is that they are not free, you see? They are not free. They are bound to a certain... a certain path of singing" (Interview, July 19, 1997). I have chosen to avoid limiting the "freedom" or power of mapambio by transcribing it. The recorded examples will, I hope, offer a sense of the spontaneity, emotion, and freedom of each performance.

Acknowledgments

"Mtu ni watu"

- Kiswahili proverb

"A person is people," say the Tanzanians, a phrase I have learned the truth of during the past two years. Many people deserve thanks and *asante sana*'s for assisting me with this project. My research in Tanzania would not have been the same without the help and support of many people, including George Njabili, Ipiana Thom, Gideon Mdgella, and numerous members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir. I would also like to thank my hosts, the extended Mhehe family, for welcoming me and assisting with many areas of my research, especially Zawadi Bonele, Msafiri and Tumaini Mhehe, and Edmond, Yona, Siya and Anna Ringo. Special thanks to my Tanzanian "parents," George and Edith Mhehe, for their enthusiasm about my project and about teaching me Kiswahili, and for offering me a place in their home in Dar es Salaam.

In Canada, I have had many supporters through the University of Alberta. Gregory Barz suggested mapambio as a site for research in the first place, and literally paved the way for me to go to Tanzania. His excitement and willingness to prepare me for my fieldwork was profoundly encouraging. Since leaving the university, he has continued to offer valuable suggestions on the project. Regula Qureshi helped me believe I could write the thesis even

after being ill for a year, and has been involved in it from beginning to end. She is a model ethnomusicologist and a true advocate of her students; this thesis would surely not exist without her valuable comments and encouragement. Thanks also to David Gramit, Brian Harris, and Ann McDougall for their willingness to be involved in the project, and for providing useful criticisms and ideas on the thesis.

Many friends have been willing to listen to me talk about my project during the past two years, and have been tirelessly encouraging. For their generosity and patience, I am profoundly thankful. Above all, I am grateful for the constant support, encouragement, and love from my family, especially my parents, and my family-to-be, Tim Shantz.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Illustrations

List of Recorded Examples

Introduction 1

Chapter One: Situating the Study 15

- Historical Background 15
- Lutherans in Tanzania 24
- Music in Lutheran Churches 27
- Charismatic Christian Movement 34

Chapter Two: *Imba!* A Profile of Mapambio 50

- Musical Characteristics 50
- Origins of the Genre 64
- Performance and Functions 67

Chapter Three: The Mtoni Evangelical Choir 85

Chapter Four: Mapambio and Empowerment 112

- Identity 122
- Community 131
- Spiritual Fulfillment 135
- Conclusions 141

References 145

List of Figures and Illustrations

Figure 1: Map of the Republic of Tanzania 17

Figure 2: Preparing the stage for a crusade in Dar es Salaam's Mnazi Mmoja Square. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 41

Figure 3: Crusade participants respond to the speaker. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 42

Figure 4: Crusade particpants join in a prayer for healing. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 43

Figure 5: Musical transcription of Recorded Example 1 52

Figure 6: Mtoni Lutheran Church kwaya ya vijana performing a hymn. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 72

Figure 7: Vetinari Lutheran Church kwaya ya vijana performing a wimbo based on indigenous musical traditions. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 73

Figure 8: Mbagala Lutheran Church kwaya ya vijana performing a wimbo with choreographed movements. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 74

Figure 9: Crusade participants dance as they perform mapambio. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 77

Figure 10: Mtoni Evangelical choir performing a wimbo. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 92

Figure 11: George Njabili and Happy share a microphone during a performance of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 93

Figure 12: Members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir dance as they exit the stage. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 94

Figure 13: Members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir wait to sell cassettes outside Msasani Lutheran Church. Photograph by Valerie Warke. 101

Figure 14: A woman prays after performing mapambio led by members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 103

Figure 15: A feature choir performs at the Kurasini crusade. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 118

Figure 16: Members of a feature choir lead mapambio at the Kurasini crusade. Photograph by Kathleen Warke. 119

List of Recorded Examples

A cassette tape containing the examples listed below has been placed in the University of Alberta Music Library, and in the Centre for Ethnomusicology, Department of Music, University of Alberta.

Recorded Example 1: "*Bwana wa mabwana leo ainuliwe*" (Exalt the Lord of Lords today), Mtoni Evangelical Choir (George Njabili, lead singer), Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
Recorded by Kathleen Warke, June 28, 1997.

Recorded Example 2: "*Unastahili kuabudiwa, unastahili ee Yesu*" (You deserve to be honoured, Oh Jesus), Mtoni Evangelical Choir and congregation (Bwana Blackson, song leader), Dar es Salaam School of Accountancy, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
Recorded by Kathleen Warke, July 13, 1997.

Recorded Example 3: "*Bwana Yesu*" (Lord Jesus), Mtoni Evangelical Choir (Frank Mwamkemwa, guitar), Magomeni African Inland Church, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
Recorded by Kathleen Warke, July 6, 1997.

Recorded Example 4: "*Ninaye Yesu, ndiyo maana naringa*" (I am with Jesus, that is why I am proud), Msasani kwaya ya vijana, Msasani Lutheran Church, Dar es Salaam.
Recorded by Kathleen Warke, June 15, 1997.

Recorded Example 5: "*Tazameni*" (Look), Mtoni Evangelical Choir. Recorded on *Hakikisha Jina Lako Limeandikwa Mbinguni*: *Mtoni Evangelical Choir (Lulu)*, no date.

Recorded Example 6: "*Yesu Nipeleke*" (Jesus, Take Me), Mtoni Evangelical Choir. Recorded on *Yesu Nipeleke (Lulu), Volume 1: Mtoni Evangelical Choir (Lulu)*, no date.

Recorded Example 7: Mtoni Evangelical Choir fellowship meeting.
Recorded by Kathleen Warke, July 16, 1997.

Recorded Example 8: Responsive Speaking. George Njabili, leader. Evangelical crusade, Kurasini Distri, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Recorded by Kathleen Warke, July 12, 1997.

Recorded Example 9: Selected mapambio. George Njabili, song leader. Evangelical crusade, Kurasini District, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Recorded by Kathleen Warke, July 12, 1997.

Introduction

In this thesis, I examine the role of mapambio performance in the experience of social identity, religious meaning, and empowerment among certain Christian communities in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. On one level, the thesis is a genre study: no previous academic work has focused on these improvised, responsorial choruses. It is also an exploration of religious experience, of the role of charismatic Christianity within the heterogeneous cultural and religious history of Lutherans in Dar es Salaam. Most of all, it is a discussion of how some Lutheran Tanzanians, through the process of mapambio performance, come to experience empowerment, through the affirmation of social identity and community, and through spiritual fulfillment.

The connection between musical performance and social experience is a familiar topic in ethnomusicological work. As Anthony Seeger states, "musical performance is as much a part of the creation of social life as any other part of life" (1987: 83). Several Africanist studies have shown that music and dance performances not only represent social boundaries, values, and identities, but provide a forum where these can be constructed, contested and disseminated. (See Blacking 1976, Erlmann 1996, and Waterman 1990.) While these concepts have been established and explored in other works, they have not frequently been approached by scholars of Christian music in Africa.

Ethnomusicologists are typically sensitive to the destructive nature of Western culture's impact, through mission and colonial efforts, on preexisting cultural traditions. Until quite recently, the emphasis of much Africanist scholarship continued to be placed on the study of traditional idioms, musics "untouched" by Western culture. Naturally, therefore, the interaction between ethnomusicologists and the Western missionary legacy has been an uncomfortable one.[1] It has only been during the past 20 years that ethnomusicologists have begun to appreciate and research musical styles resulting from contact between African and Western cultures through colonization and missionary proselytization. [2] However, studies of the musics of Christian churches remain infrequent.[3] Veit Erlmann is one of the few Africanists to describe the importance of studying African Christianity. His comments about the cultural and musical importance of Christianity in South Africa are relevant throughout the continent. He laments that in existing studies "there has been a marked lack of attention to ritual performance as a crucial component of such broadly oppositional practice [namely, resistance to white hegemony], and an even greater dearth of systematic studies devoted to the verbal, musical, or kinesic expressions of African ecclesiastical practice" (1996: 218).

This work attempts to address the need for further research into Christian "ecclesiastical practice" [4] in Africa. Indeed, the music of Christian churches in East Africa has not been researched extensively. However, a few notable exceptions exist. The following works have been particularly helpful to me. Frank Gunderson's (1991) history of Christian hymnody in Kenya traces the various musical styles that co-exist in many East African churches today. Nathan Corbitt (1985) takes a historical approach to the development of indigenous music within Baptist churches in coastal Kenya through the years between 1953 and 1984. Gregory Barz's (1996) detailed ethnography of a Lutheran *kwaya* (choir) in Tanzania demonstrates the act of "musical positioning" between the historical Western influence in the church and the indigenous traditions surrounding it. He traces the significance of *kwaya*[5] music as a "popular" genre in urban Tanzania, and argues for the importance of the *kwaya* as a social network and indemnity group for the members involved. Barz's work is the first to focus on "kwaya as a significant historical and contemporary East African musical performance genre," and "on the enormous contributions kwaya music has made to the contemporary East African urban soundscape" (1997: 73), and in many ways his work is a parent to mine. In some ways, my project is a continuation of Barz's overview of Lutheran choirs. I provide a deeper analysis of mapambio, a genre that he only touches on, and present a more detailed picture of one subculture of Tanzanian Lutherans, the charismatics.

It was Dr. Barz himself who initially encouraged me to conduct research in Tanzania. After completing his own research in Dar es Salaam in 1995, he remained interested in the popular nature of choir genres, and encouraged me to focus on mapambio as popular music among *kwaya ya vijana* (youth choirs) in Dar es Salaam. This research proposal originally captured my interest because it connected to several areas of abiding interest for me, namely choral music, Christian experience, and African expressive culture. Best of all, it gave me the opportunity to see another part of Africa, something which I had longed to do since spending a semester in Ghana in 1994.

In order to engage in a practical study of the performance of mapambio, I chose to work with Lutheran choirs in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Mapambio are not only performed by choirs; they are always performed by the community at large, usually participants at various religious events. However, for many Lutheran choirs, mapambio form a significant part of the performance repertoire. At fellowship meetings and crusades, choirs often lead the audience in performing mapambio, for example. Also, choirs hold their own regular Bible studies and other gatherings, at which they often perform mapambio. In choosing to base my research on choirs, I gained more frequent exposure to mapambio, in a variety of performance contexts. Also, I was able to join a "ready-made" community - particularly useful given my short research period!

Upon arriving in Dar es Salaam, I discovered that finding a choir with which to sing and learn about mapambio was more difficult than I had expected. In the end, I based my decision on the advice of Gideon Mdegella, a well-known music figure in Dar es Salaam and an important informant in

Barz's research. It was Mdegella who first advised me that I would hear more mapambio if I sang with a *kwaya ya uinjilisti* (evangelical choir), than with a *kwaya ya vijana*. He not only recommended three choirs, but personally introduced me to the *mwalimu* (lit. teacher; choir leader and conductor) of each one. After Mdegella's introduction, I was warmly received by each choir and treated immediately as though I was a member. I was grateful for the hospitality, but it made choosing to join only one choir quite difficult!

In the end, I chose to base my fieldwork on experience with two choirs: the *Mtoni Evangelical Choir (Lulu)*, from Mtoni Lutheran Church, and, to a lesser extent, the *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kariakoo* (Kariakoo Evangelical Choir) from Kariakoo Lutheran Church. The Mtoni Evangelical Choir (see note 4 at the end of this chapter), or "Lulu Choir," a nickname taken from the chorus of their most popular song, is recognized as one of the best evangelical choirs in Dar Es Salaam, and performs frequently at evangelical "crusades" and church services, Lutheran and otherwise, throughout the city. My decision to use the Lulu choir as my primary fieldwork domain offered me the opportunity to participate in several rehearsals a week, as well as many performances at evangelical events and church services throughout the months of June and July of 1997. I met with the *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti* at Kariakoo on a weekly basis, primarily to provide a contrast to my experiences with the Lulu choir.

My method of research is best described as participant-observation, though I constantly strove to avoid being an objective observer and to participate in the lives of the members of the Mtoni choir as deeply and fully as possible. This meant attending rehearsals, performing at church services, fellowship meetings, and crusades, joining in prayers at weekly Bible studies, and eating and socializing with the choir. Of course, despite my involvement I remained an outsider; the myriad differences between "me" and "them" remained as obvious as the skin on our bodies.

My success as a researcher was limited by two important factors. First, my limited knowledge of Kiswahili inhibited my relationships with many of the more shy, or less educated choir members, for we simply could not understand each other. Worse than this, however, was the unexpected brevity of my research period. I was forced to abandon my research and return to Canada six weeks early due to a bout of malaria, and subsequent reaction to the treatment dosage of the anti-malarial drug Mefloquine (known as "Lariam"). The abruptness and severity of my reaction was such that I had no time to wrap up my research activities in the way I might have wanted, nor to pursue various questions that I had hoped to address in this thesis.

With such limitations to deal with, I have wondered how I dare presume to present the lived experience of these charismatic Lutherans. I take assurance in the fact that I am not alone; the issue of representation has recently been much addressed in ethnographically-based fields, and it is one not easily resolved. For my part, I have addressed the issue of representation in a few ways. First, I have limited my discussion to a very particular topic:

the musical and religious experiences of a Lutheran subculture in Dar es Salaam. I also try to describe the experiences of my partners in Tanzania as explicitly and honestly as I can, and to include myself in many reflections, to add accountability and depth to my analysis. I have guarded against the "reification of other people's lives" (Turino 1990: 399), and instead describe the religious and musical practices of a certain group of people, as I saw it, during the summer of 1997. I do not pretend that this thesis is an authoritative version of the religious and musical lives of charismatic Tanzanians. Nonetheless, it is as thorough a description of mapambio as has yet been put to paper, and as such, I believe it has value.

Throughout the thesis, I include excerpts from field journals, recorded examples, musical transcriptions, and photographs, in order to give as detailed a depiction of mapambio and the people who perform them as possible. I also try to include myself; in order to present my position and reflections more deeply, I continue the introduction with some reflections on my research experience.

One of the things I struggled most with in the field was the imbalance of power relations between myself and the people I worked with. My sensitivity to this issue was so strong that in some ways I probably limited my effectiveness as a researcher. On many occasions I chose not to take pictures, or record music for fear that in displaying my equipment I was publicly announcing my wealth and power, and distancing myself from the very people I wanted to be close to. I was also motivated by uneven power relations in my constant desire to prove to them that *wazungu* (whites; people of European descent) need not be insensitive, demanding, depraved, nor aloof (common stereotypes which many choir members shared with me). Admittedly, I was with them for too short a time to become anything resembling a cultural "insider." However, I did share "the profoundly communal experience" of making music with them (Titon 1997: 99), as well as laughter, tears, prayers, and meals. I felt sure, when some members called me *dada* (sister) or greeted me with an embrace, that I had at least moved beyond the role of observer to assume the role of friend.

Another issue I dealt with in Tanzania was how to define myself for others; was I researcher, student, friend, or guest? I struggled with describing myself as a researcher, particularly as I was following so close on the heels of Gregory Barz, who was known to many of the people I met. His "shadow in the field" forced me to constantly evaluate my relationships and research as compared to his. Doing so opened my eyes to the ways that being a single, petite female affected my relationships with people. Did Greg, I wondered, have people take his hand when crossing busy streets, constantly offer to pay for his bus trips, or elbow him in the ribs when he forgot to say "*Shikamoo*" (a term of respect) to his elders? Likely not as frequently as I did, though I did not resent this. However, I occasionally felt that I was not given the respect that might have been granted him; a man who had been one of Greg's primary informants, for example, agreed to meet me no fewer than eight times during my stay in Dar es Salaam, and stood me up every time. In the end, however, I decided that being female aided my research; I was able to become much closer with the women than a male researcher would have been, yet as an outsider, I could get to know men as well. I also determined that my youthful appearance aided me; I resolved my struggles with power relations and self-definition by assuming the role of "student," and found this to be comfortable for myself and for those around me.

Perhaps the most important challenge to me as a researcher related to my own religious beliefs. Originally, my research objective was to discover how mapambio are a form of "muziki ya kiafrika," specifically how they represent the ongoing process of Africanization in Lutheran churches. When I found mapambio to be much more widely recognized and used as a symbol for charismatic Christian believers, I was compelled to explore this connection instead. Naturally, as I became involved in the lives of the people who perform these songs, questions about my religious perspectives came up. In particular, the members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir were very open in their concern about my salvation. I was frequently asked whether I was "saved," and quickly found that engaging in theological debates was fruitless. Eventually, I decided it was safest to assure them that as a Christian I believed I was "saved." At the same time, however, it remained clear to everyone that I was not "born again" in the sense that they were: I displayed none of gifts of the

Holy Spirit with which they are familiar, such as tongues, prophecy, or healing, I did not pray or worship with visible intensity, nor did I involve myself with the evangelistic activities of the choir. I felt that remaining in this religious "middle ground" gave me the best opportunity to participate in choir activities such as Bible study, fellowships, and prayers, without compromising my own religious values.

In the end, it was my friend, research assistant, roommate and host, 21-year-old Zawadi Bonele, who became the object of the evangelistic fervor of many choir members. Zawadi, a Roman Catholic, was quite willing to join me in becoming a member of the Lulu Choir, but remained resolute in her skepticism regarding "these saved people" throughout our tenure with the choir. Of course, her stubbornness was met with equal force from choir members, and many rehearsals ended with good-natured bantering between Zawadi and other singers about the state of her soul.

Much of the research upon which this thesis is based is thanks to Zawadi and the extended Mhehe family, who, besides allowing me to share their home, were very enthusiastic supporters of my research. In fact, I might not have ever made it to Dar es Salaam if I had not had the good fortune of meeting George and Edith Mhehe while still in Edmonton. I approached them first as tutors of Kiswahili, but they quickly became friends and eventually offered me a place to stay with their children and extended family in Dar es Salaam. Prior to meeting them, I had no expectation that the Mhehe children would take an active role in my fieldwork activities, but only hoped that they could perhaps introduce me to some individuals whom I could hire as research assistants and translators. However, all eight of my housemates voluntarily involved themselves in the project, from Zawadi, who became my constant companion, to her cousin Yona Ringo, an excellent Kiswahili tutor and translator, to six-year-old Anna, the unofficial "disc jockey" of the household, who played recordings of Mtoni Evangelical Choir every day for weeks! I cannot imagine what my fieldwork experience would have been without their friendship and support.

Chapter Outline

The performance of mapambio, I argue, is a vehicle whereby charismatic Lutherans experience agency and empowerment, through the construction and affirmation of social identity and community, and through spiritual fulfillment. This hypothesis is presented in four chapters.

In the first chapter, I set out the historical, social, religious and musical contexts in which contemporary charismatic Lutherans exist. I begin with the colonial history of Tanzania, followed by a description of the expansion of Christianity during that period. I then approach the history and current position of the Tanzanian Lutheran church, especially focusing on the development of musical styles. The final section of the chapter deals with the history of the charismatic, or fundamentalist Christian movement, and its increasing popularity in Tanzania, specifically among Lutherans.

Chapter Two highlights mapambio, the music that was my window onto the experience of charismatic Lutherans in Tanzania. I present the musical characteristics of the genre, and offer some ideas as to its origin. After describing the connection between mapambio and the music of charismatic churches world wide, I conclude the chapter with an examination of the functions of mapambio within Lutheran activities in Dar es Salaam.

In Chapter Three, I bring the study to a personal level, and present an ethnography of a group of individuals for whom charismatic belief and the performance of mapambio are particularly meaningful. The history, activities, and musical and religious motivations of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir offer insight into the particular perspective of charismatic Lutherans in Tanzania. The position of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir within the Lutheran Church in Dar es Salaam is entirely unique; while highly recognized Lutheran musicians such as Gideon Mdegella assured me that the influence of charismatic Christianity had been felt in the Lutheran church for 10 years at the most, the Lulu choir has been deeply connected to the movement since its inception over 20 years ago. Thus, the relationship of the choir to the growth of the charismatic movement in Lutheran churches is not one of mere participation, but of initiation. It is particularly appropriate then, that my study of the performance of mapambio and the experience of empowerment should be grounded in experience with this choir.

I conclude the study in Chapter Four, with an account of how members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir experience empowerment through performing mapambio. The chapter is focused on one performance context: a crusade at which the Mtoni Evangelical Choir performed in Dar es Salaam. From this crusade, I draw connections to broader issues, including social identity, community, and spiritual fulfillment. Ultimately, I conclude that mapambio is empowering because it addresses each of these issues on a variety of levels.

Endnotes

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[1] This interaction continues in many ethnomusicological fieldwork domains today. For example, in *Shadows in the Field* (1997), Michelle Kisliuk writes bitterly about the influence of a North American missionary on the BaAka Pygmies of the Central African Republic.

[2] Among Africanists, the works of David Coplan, Veit Erlmann, and Christopher Waterman have been important contributions to the study of syncretic musics.

[3] Waterman's bibliographic essay of ethnomusicological work in Africa (1992) does not mention any research in church music, nor, incidentally, does he include it in his list of musical traditions demanding research.

[4] I interepret Erlmann's use of the word "ecclesiastical" somewhat loosely; mapambio is paraliturgical but nonetheless, it is undeniably central to charismatic Christian worship.

[5] Throughout his research, Barz refers to Lutheran choirs with the Kiswahili term *kwaya*. He describes his reasons for this decision in the following way:

> A "kwaya"... is very different from what is evoked in the common understanding of the English word, "choir." Kwaya is a core, church-based Christian community, serving as a microcosm or example both for the larger Christian community and for itself. Perhaps the most significant difference between "choir" and "kwaya" is the latter's ability to move away from singing and embrace much more." (1997: 48)

I agree with Barz that Tanzanian choirs are very different from Western "choirs," and appreciate his efforts to make that distinction clear. However, I have chosen to use the English word "choir" in this thesis. Two factors prompted this decision. Firstly, in Tanzania I felt that using the term "kwaya" in speech, let alone writing, was presumptuous. My knowledge of Kiswahili remained at an elementary level for the duration of my stay, and often people seemed unsure of my intentions when I used Kiswahili terms instead of the (usually obvious) English translations (such as "kwaya"). Not wanting to appear condescending, in conversation I usually stuck to English terms throughout. Secondly, the Mtoni Evangelical Choir, with whom I did most of my research, call themselves exactly that. While in daily practice choir members refer to the group as a "kwaya," on cassette labels and public announcements they are "Mtoni Evangelical Choir." As far as I could determine, the choir uses an English name strictly for marketing purposes. They frequently tour and promote their recordings in neighbouring countries, particularly Kenya and Malawi, where English is often better understood than Kiswahili. The choir has also recorded and regularly performs songs in English, despite the fact that many of the singers have very limited knowledge of the language. George Njabili, Vice Chairman of the choir and frequent soloist, has composed all of these English songs and taught them to the choir. He confirmed with me that he composes songs in English so as to reach a broader audience. Also, it adds a certain "cosmopolitan" flair to performances when the choir performs in English as well as Kiswahili.

Chapter One: Situating the Study

It is my first night in Tanzania, and I am lying awake. The Mhehe's milk cows have been bawling for a while, joining in with yapping guard dogs, roosters, cicadas, and calls-to-prayer from a nearby mosque. Zawadi is breathing deeply on her side of the bed. Everything is too new and strange for me to relax, and I begin to ponder what I have seen so far. Dar es Salaam seems similar to other African cities I have seen, but a lot poorer; more like an overgrown village than a metropolis. Broken roads teem with people and vehicles. Street vendors sell everything from tangerines to second-hand clothing, to car parts and televisions. Business people and school children climb on buses that careen through the streets with stereos blaring. Above all this activity, the hot air hangs with humidity and the scent of coal fire, diesel, and dust. Perhaps I am lying awake as much from excitement as from the noise. I can hardly wait until I can plunge into the city, get to know parts of it and some of the people who live here. As images of colourful cloth, fruit stalls, and bouganvillea float before me, I begin to doze.

Historical Background

The Republic of Tanzania is a coastal East African country comprised of the mainland, Tanganyika, and several islands, including Zanzibar and Pemba (Figure 1 - Map). The mainland is predominantly savanna, part of the Great Rift Valley that extends through East Africa from Ethiopia to Zambia.

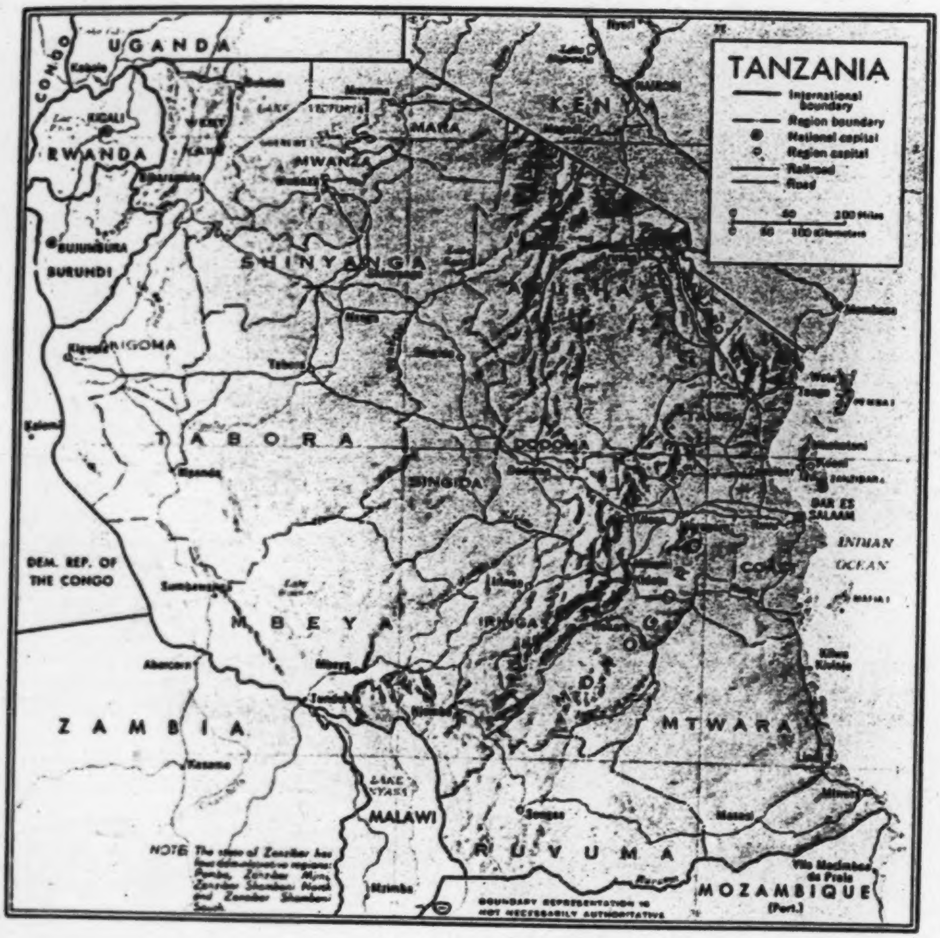
Its distinguishing features include Mt. Kilimanjaro, the highest peak in Africa and one of the deepest lakes in the world, Lake Victoria. For centuries this land has been home to a variety of migratory hunters and gatherers, pastoralists, and agriculturists, the ancestors of contemporary Tanzania's 120 ethnic groups. The arid land allows for limited agricultural opportunity, and though 90 percent of the population works in agriculture, the bulk of the population lives along the coast (Yeager 1982: 2).

Coastal Tanzania has a very different history than the interior because of interaction with merchants and traders from Greece, Egypt, India, China, Arabia and Persia since ancient times (Ibid.: 7). Through this contact, a literate Muslim people, the Swahili, developed along the East African coast. By the thirteenth century, a thriving Indian Ocean trade in slaves, gold, ivory, and other materials was established by Arab and Shirazi rulers. In 1506, this trade was taken over by the Portuguese, who controlled it for over 200 years. In the late eighteenth century, a group of Omani Arabs gained power, developing trade with several European countries as well as the United States (Ibid.: 8). By 1820, the Omanis were developing clove plantations on Zanzibar and Pemba, capitalizing on the ideal conditions and constant flow of slaves from the interior (Cooper 1977). The success of these plantations was a factor in the decision of Seyyid Said to move his Sultanate from Oman to Zanzibar in 1840. Tanzania continues to be the leading producer of cloves in the world today.

Figure 1

Map of the Republic of Tanzania

(Ofcansky and Yeager 1997: Preface)


TANZANIA
International boundary
Region boundary
National capital
Region capital
Railroad
Road
0 50 200 Miles
0 50 100 Kilometers
UGANDA
CONGO
KIGALI
RWANDA
BUJUMBURA
BURUNDI
KENYA
NAIROBI
MARA
MWANZA
SHINYANGA
KIGOMA
Tabora
TABORA
SINGIDA
DODOMA
DAR ES SALAAM
INDIAN OCEAN
Mombasa
DEM. REP. OF THE CONGO
MBEYA
IRINGA
COAST
MTWARA
ZAMBIA
Kasama
LAKE NYASA
MALAWI
Songea
Masasi
Mtwara
RUVUMA
Mzimba
Vila Macimboa da Praia
MOZAMBIQUE (Port.)
NOTE: The state of Zanzibar has five administrative regions: Pemba, Zanzibar Mjini, Zanzibar Shamba North and Zanzibar Shamba South
BOUNDARY REPRESENTATION IS NOT NECESSARILY AUTHORITATIVE

The European colonization of the area began in the mid-nineteenth century, as various countries became interested in the trade network based in Zanzibar. The British, American, French and German governments established a series of trade organizations in Zanzibar, and gradually made contacts inland. Missionaries followed, committed to ending the trading of slaves upon which the trade network was based. Representatives of the German East Africa Company signed "agreements" with local authorities on the mainland, and in 1885, a large area of the mainland was declared a German Protectorate. Further agreements between the German and British forced the Sultan to give up control of his inland trade routes, and in 1891, the mainland officially became a German colony. Under German rule, the language of the coastal Swahili people, Kiswahili, was established as a *lingua franca* for the entire region, and railroads were built, making the establishment of various coffee, cotton, and rubber plantations possible (Yeager 1982: 10). Land for the railways, plantations, and German settlers was seized from indigenous populations, leading in many cases to severe unrest. The largest rebellion was the Maji Maji war in 1905, which resulted in the deaths of thousands of Africans (*Maji* is the Kiswahili word for "water"; the war was so-named because of a belief that a potion of water and herbs could protect against bullets).

German rule of the so-called "German East Africa" was relatively brief; during World War I the mainland was occupied by the British, who re-named it Tanganyika and established a new administration. In 1922, under the League of Nations, Tanganyika was declared part of the British Empire. The British encouraged the production of coffee and other cash crops; they also improved educational facilities and health services, although these were concentrated in high population areas (Ibid.: 14). As Tanganyikans were allowed greater access to education, they became more politically active. By the end of World War II, the country was moving towards independence, a transition empowered by the formation, in 1954, of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), a multi-ethnic political organization. Under the leadership of Julius Nyerere, TANU successfully lobbied the United Nations for the establishment of an electoral procedure for the Tanganyika Legislative Council, the local governing body (Ibid.: 20). In an election held in 1960, TANU candidates won all but one of the 71 seats, and Nyerere was appointed chief minister.

In 1961, Britain ceded control to the Legislative Council, and Tanganyika became entirely independent. After a violent uprising between the African majority and Arab ruling class in Zanzibar, Tanganyika and Zanzibar united to form the Republic of Tanzania in 1964. Under Nyerere's lengthy rule, the government promoted socialist policies emphasizing nationalism, equality, and the reduction of poverty and disease above industry and production. As a result, while Tanzania has maintained an enviable position among African nations for its strong national identity and social equality, it has suffered from economic problems. Population growth has outstripped the rate of production and Tanzania has even been forced to import food (Ibid.: 37). Despite this material poverty, Tanzania is considered a desirable country by many: its egalitarian policies and political harmony, even during the recent transition from one-party socialism to a market-based economy and democracy, make it unique in Africa.

Dar es Salaam, Arabic for "Haven of Peace," is the largest city in Tanzania, the former capital, and the dominant urban centre in the country. Originally a small harbour town with a long history of interaction with Arab and European traders, Dar es Salaam later became an important base for the German colonial and evangelical efforts in the area. More recently, the city has suffered from rapid urbanization outstripping the rate of development; apart from the downtown core, most of the city consists of a series of former villages, most with limited electricity, running water, and maintained roads. The population of Dar es Salaam is over two million, representing most of Tanzania's 120 ethnic groups, as well as Omani Arabs, South Asians, Europeans, and other expatriates (Whitaker's Almanack 1997). It has been estimated that approximately equal numbers of these inhabitants follow Christianity, Islam, and "traditional" African or indigenous beliefs. Though adherents to the two world religions number the same, they have very different histories; Islam has been established along the Swahili coast for five centuries, whereas the influence of Christianity has been much more recent (Isichei 1997: 130).

Christianity in Tanzania

Christianity was introduced into the area now known as Tanzania over 100 years ago, in tandem with German colonial rule. Throughout Christian history, the command to "go into the world" has prompted missionaries to proselytize in heathen societies around the globe, and one of the strongest periods of growth in the mission movement occurred during the European colonization of Africa in the nineteenth century.[1] The history of mission activity in Tanzania is typical of many African countries. While some Western missionaries and Christian explorers were in the area as early as 1850 (Beachey 1996: 69), most "followed in the wake of colonialism, rather than preceding it, taking advantage of improvements in communications, and a widespread arousal of interest in western education" (Isichei 1997: 130).

The first missionaries to Tanzania were sponsored by European mission societies; the Universities Mission to Central Africa (Anglican), the Berlin Mission Society (Lutheran and Moravian), and the Roman Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers had all established mission "stations" by the 1890s. These, along with other smaller missionary groups, proceeded to "claim" various regions, dividing along geographic or ethnic and linguistic lines[2] (Swantz 1965: 6). The German colonial administration approved these missionary efforts, at least partly because of the commitment of mission societies to building and running schools and hospitals, and in all ways aiding the acculturation of African subjects to Western ideology and rule.

Mission stations and organized churches continually struggled because of the many conflicts arising from the clash between the Western worldviews inherent in the Christian faith and traditional African culture; fundamental differences made encounters difficult for both missionaries and missionized. Unable to fully understand, let alone reconcile African culture with Christian traditions, missionaries of the nineteenth century frequently denounced traditional cultural practices, including language, lifestyle, dress, and music, as pagan and therefore evil. Attempting to negotiate between two conflicting worldviews, many Tanzanian converts responded by completely forsaking formerly central expressive forms such as drumming and dancing, while some literally abandoned their homes and families for mission stations and "Christian" villages. Indeed, like converts across the continent, many were willing to give up all aspects of "traditional" culture in order to benefit from the Western education and employment available through the missionaries (Ekweume 1973/4: 13).

Typically, the first Christian converts were among the underprivileged; former slaves or refugees, or disabled and ill people who recognized the benefits of an association with the ruling class (Isichei 1997: 134). However, the education provided by mission schools was seen as highly desirable by many Tanzanians cognizant of the opportunities offered by a Western education, and through schools the numbers of converted Christians greatly increased. Indeed, throughout East Africa it "was the missions' near monopoly of education that was the single most effective way of attracting new Christians" (Ibid.: 229). By 1938 it was estimated that 10 per cent of the population of Tanganyika was Christian (Ibid.: 230).

As more Tanzanians became Christian, missionaries of various denominations worked together to make the Christian faith comprehensible in indigenous terms. In 1911, a multi-denominational Evangelical Mission Conference held in Dar es Salaam resulted in an "agreement to continue with a Bantuized Swahili version of the New Testament... Agreement was also sought on the standardization of local missionary practice. Here the main concern was to minimize local differences so that Christians who had left their native areas could easily join other congregations" (Wright 1971: 127). Gregory Barz states that at this same conference it was decided that indigenous tunes be included among Western hymns in Christian services (1997: 130). These were the first steps in an on-going process of cultural and identity negotiation in Tanzanian churches. Throughout the colonial period church organizations adjusted policies, gradually including more African cultural elements into services, often in the form of traditional melodies and rhythmic patterns (Barz 1997: 130-32).[3]

The transfer of colonial power from Germany to Britain resulted in a temporary limitation of some German missionary activity. There were occasional open conflicts between missionaries who had difficulty separating politics from religion; for example, the Berlin Mission (Lutheran) and Church of Scotland Mission (Presbyterian) in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania had disagreements over the areas claimed by the Germans in 1924 (Wright 1971: 155). The most significant changes to European missions occurred in the years surrounding the second World War, during which "the numbers of missionaries and financial support was drastically reduced in Tanzania. Rather than weaken the indigenous Church, it strengthened it by putting Nationals into leadership and giving them the responsibility for self-support" (Swantz 1965: 9). Thus, in spite of an interruption in mission work, churches continued to grow, and autonomous leadership of Tanzanian churches was well established by the end of the war. To illustrate, "in the Lutheran churches in Tanzania, ordained Tanzanians were drawing level with the Europeans in 1938 and in 1949 they outnumbered the missionaries 3 to 1. By 1960 it was 6 to 1" (Ibid.: 16). Most Christian denominations became officially autonomous during the years surrounding Tanzanian independence.

Lutherans in Tanzania

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania (in Swahili, *Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania*, or K.K.K.T.), an organization established by seven autonomous Lutheran churches in 1963 and the only Lutheran synod in Tanzania, has a long history in the country.[4] The first Lutheran missionaries were Germans sponsored by the Berlin Mission Society, arriving close on the heels of German occupation. As Beachey states in his history of East Africa:

> Following the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 and the assigning of Zanzibar to the British sphere, Dar es Salaam became an important port. Its shoreline was tidied up and a plant erected for the washing and sorting of copal; fine new buildings- spacious and with a substantial air- appeared; *and there soon arrived Lutheran and Benedictine missionaries with plans for schools, missions and hospitals*. (1996: 242, emphasis added)

Lutheran schools, missions, and hospitals were likely granted extra support by the German administration because of their shared heritage; for example, Azania Front Lutheran Cathedral, now one of the oldest buildings in Dar es Salaam, was the religious home for many of the German colonialists (Barz 1997: 29). Gradually the denomination gained numbers in Tanzania, particularly in the regions of Dar es Salaam, Kilimanjaro, and the Southern Highlands. During the inter-war period, Lutheran churches and projects established by Europeans were gradually transferred to Tanzanian hands, another contributing factor to the growth of the denomination.

> In spite of serious interruptions in Lutheran work during the war years, there were no interruptions in church growth. From about 20,000 Lutheran Christians in 1914, it grew to 92,000 in 1938 to 150,000 in 1949 and 250,000 in 1955. This means that prior to 1955 there was an annual increase in membership amongst Lutherans of approximately 8%. This may be compared with the average 2.5%-3% population growth of Tanzania. (Swantz 1965: 10)

The following information, found in the 1955 annual report of the Lutheran church in Northern Tanzania, gives an example of the kinds of operations initiated and sponsored by Lutherans around the country.

> In this area the church had 332 places of worship. The church operated 13 medical centers, three of which were good-sized hospitals; 95 registered and government-assisted schools and 149 unaided "bush schools" having 19,212 pupils and 311 teachers... In addition to the primary and middle schools, there were two teacher's training colleges, a boys' secondary school, a Bible school and a jointly supported theological College. The church produced a monthly paper with a circulation of 4,140 copies. It conducted and supported its own "mission field" amongst the Sonjo. (Ibid.: 11)

Despite autonomous leadership, the Lutheran church in Tanzania has continued to receive monetary support and personnel from Western countries, most notably Germany and America. For example, in 1964, the Lutheran Church in America gave financial aid to 78 schools, three hospitals, and one seminary (among other projects) in Tanzania to a total of $1,091,267 U.S. (Gatewood 1964: 79). Whether because of its long history in Tanzania and its financial support of various schools and hospitals around the country, or because of its theological appeal, Lutheranism has remained strong in Tanzania. Today, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (K.K.K.T.) has approximately 50 congregations in Dar es Salaam alone.[5]

Music in Lutheran Churches

Since its establishment 100 years ago, Lutheranism in Tanzania has undergone many changes, which have been interpreted by Barz as a reflection of the continuous historical negotiation between European and indigenous culture and power. Understanding the process whereby church language, liturgy, and especially music have become increasingly indigenized is essential to understanding the position that mapambio hold in Lutheran churches today.

The power of singing to aid in evangelism and the teaching of Christian doctrine was quickly recognized and exploited by missionaries in Tanzania, who used hymn texts to transmit Western values and ideology in mission schools, to teach languages such as German and English, and to encourage submission to colonial power. The first Lutheran hymnal, *Nyimbo Kisuaheli kwa Dini* ("Kiswahili Religious Songs"), published in 1984, consisted of German tunes and texts translated into Kiswahili (Barz 1997: 114). Because European hymns and songs were used exclusively for worship and in education, Western music became deeply associated with the Christian religion itself for many converts (Ekweume 1973/4: 15).

By the first decades of the twentieth century, however, some missionaries recognized that forcing Africans to worship in a foreign language (usually German) with foreign music, made full participation in and understanding of the Christian religion difficult. At the ecumenical conference held in Dar es Salaam in 1911, it was determined that "indigenous" tunes would be included among European chorales and hymns in a forthcoming Lutheran hymnal (Ibid.: 155). However, the process of incorporating recognizably indigenous music into the church service was slow, and met with significant resistance from African converts for whom the association of traditional songs with non-Christian religion and culture was uncomfortably strong.[6] For converted Tanzanians, the Western elements of their faith and worship style was concordant with association with the colonial administration, through which they expected to gain social and economic opportunities. Doubtless some converts feared a loss of status through the musical representation of traditional culture.

Gradually, however, shifting political power relations caused deepening disaffection with the exclusive use of Western music in Lutheran churches. By the 1950s, Tanzanian church leaders and members began to emphasize the use of traditional music for worship, reflecting the nationalistic political climate preceding and surrounding independence in 1961. Barz isolates the post-independence publication of the hymnal *TumshangilieMungu* ("Let us Acclaim God") in 1968, with 81 indigenous melodies, as particularly significant in the process of musical indigenization in the Lutheran church; European hymns no longer dominated the services (Ibid.: 136). The Lutheran church was also indirectly influenced by deliberate "indigenizing" strategies adopted by church organizations worldwide, such as the Vatican Council II, held in 1963. Many Lutheran musicians, usually completely literate in the Western music tradition due to church upbringing and mission school education, began to consciously integrate traditional musical idioms into hymns and songs based on the structure, harmony and performance practice of Western church music. One composer described the process as a merging of two distinct traditions: "Most of the time, when I base my music on traditional melody, I try to merge the harmony from traditional Kinyamwezi and bridge it with what I've studied in Western music" (Interview between John Mgandu and Gregory Barz, June 17, 1994). This "syncretic" musical style continues to be composed and performed in many Christian churches in Tanzania.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Tanzania, along with the other East African countries, experienced a marked "political-cultural change of consciousness" (Kubik 1981: 83), which strongly influenced church music. An awareness of the need for total independence from colonial administration on the African continent, and for a perceived African culture to be reclaimed began to influence the work of many politicians, authors and musicians. In Tanzania, the socialist government of Nyerere promoted policies of equality, democracy, and socialism based on pre-colonial African socities (Yeager 1982: 43). These government policies translated into international policy; Tanzania became "the leading 'front-line' African state in the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa" (Ibid.: 94).[7] This ideological environment of pan-Africanism has led to musical changes in the Lutheran churches which are still felt today; while European hymns and "syncretic" compositions remain popular, other repertoire is, or is perceived as, exclusively African. For example, some Lutheran choirs have begun singing and recording hymns and songs in entirely traditional styles. Young composers rely more heavily on the musics and instruments of their ethnic backgrounds, adding Christian words to traditional tunes. Besides this reliance on traditional African idioms, many of the newer compositions also incorporate a great deal from contemporary African popular musics.

One of the most interesting aspects of Lutheran church music is that each of the diverse musical styles described above can be heard at any given service. Throughout the changes of the past century, music has retained its central role in Lutheran worship services in Tanzania, and arguably the most important vehicle for musical expression in all Lutheran churches is the choir. Choral music has been an aspect of Lutheranism since homophonic vocal music was introduced by the first European missionaries. Barz recognizes that this style of music may have had particular resonance with Tanzanians because of "the tradition of multi-part singing of many *makabila* [ethnic groups] in East Africa, forms of call-and-response singing with the response often in thirds" (Ibid.: 39). Over the century, organized choirs have led musical innovation in Lutheran churches; most church musicians lead and compose for choirs.

Today, choirs surpass congregational singing in providing nearly all of the music in most Lutheran services. Barz estimates that each of the Lutheran congregations in Dar es Salaam has more than one active choir and some have as many as six (Ibid.: 2). Apart from performing regularly on Sundays, each choir rehearses two or three times a week, and frequently the members meet on other nights of the week to pray and study the Bible, play games, and share social events. Choirs are much more than music ensembles; they are significant social communities through which individuals support each other in all matters of faith and life.

Within each congregation, one finds different kinds of choirs, each with its own distinct personality and style of music. Barz states, "there are many options available for someone seeking membership in a kwaya community: kwayas are typically categorized in terms of age, gender, time of Sunday service, time of weekly rehearsals, appeal of musical repertoire, non-singing activities, and specific social needs of the individual" (Ibid.: 227). He lists the titles of the different types of choirs he encountered in Dar es Salaam:

Kwaya ya Akina Mama	Kwaya of the Women's Group
Kwaya ya Bible Study	Bible Study Kwaya
Kwaya ya Fellowship	Fellowship Kwaya
Kwaya ya Kati na Usharika	Kwaya of Congregation and those between Youth & Adult
Kwaya Kuu	Main Kwaya
Kwaya ya Usharika	Kwaya of the Congregation
Kwaya ya Usharika na Vijana	Kwaya of the Congregation & Youth
Kwaya ya Vijana	Youth Kwaya
Kwaya ya Watoto	Children's Kwaya

Kwaya ya Wazee	Kwaya of Elders
Kwaya ya Wainjilisti -or-	Kwaya of Evangelists -or-
Kwaya ya Uinjilisti	Evangelical Choir

While researching in Dar es Salaam, I participated with two *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti*, or Evangelical Choirs. I rehearsed and performed regularly with the Mtoni Evangelical Choir from Mtoni Lutheran Church and also remained an "honorary member" of the *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kariakoo* at Kariakoo Lutheran Church. From these experiences, I determined that Evangelical Choirs are not defined by a distinct musical style or repertoire but by their commitment to use music to spread the Christian faith to the unsaved. Like nearly all choirs in Dar es Salaam, they consist of people from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds (also witnessed by Barz; see 1997: 219). Apart from these shared traits, Evangelical Choirs seem to differ from each other a great deal.

Though they share a commitment to evangelism, the two choirs with which I participated differ in several ways, including socio-economic status, musical ability, repertoire, and goals, and Christian belief. The members of the Mtoni choir are primarily younger than thirty, with a relatively low rate of employment, particularly among the women, whereas the members of the other choir are older and visibly wealthier, and almost all members, women and men, are apparently employed.[8] The Mtoni choir has an intense rehearsal and performance schedule, while the *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kariakoo* clearly gathers more for pleasure than musical excellence, and performs primarily in its home church. The styles of music performed by these choirs also vary from each other a great deal; the Mtoni Evangelical Choir performs in a distinctly popular style relying heavily on electric guitars and keyboards, whereas the *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kariakoo* performs more Western-based hymns, songs, and original compositions incorporating indigenous idioms in the "syncretic" style. The Mtoni Evangelical Choir also frequently performs mapambio, the call-and-response choruses I was particularly interested in, whereas the other choir performed hardly any at all.

This difference in repertoire hints at the greatest difference between the two choirs; while the *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kariakoo* members express their faith in the traditional Lutheran sense, the Mtoni Evangelical Choir members display a religious fervor of an entirely different order. Members of the Mtoni choir call themselves "saved" or "born again," and they practice and proselytize a charismatic theology. Although most members are nominally Lutheran, they do not believe that salvation is guaranteed through baptism alone. Rather a Christian must be "born again" through the touch of the Holy Spirit, an experience usually demonstrated through the acquisition of spiritual "gifts" such as glossolalia ("tongues"), healing, and prophesy. In order to accurately describe the belief system of the members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir, I will first approach the history of the charismatic movement in Tanzania.

Charismatic Christian Movement

I was exposed to the importance of charismatic Christianity among Tanzanian Lutherans within the first week of my research. I had agreed to meet with Gideon Mdegella to ask for some general advice. He told me that if I wanted to hear mapambio, he would escort Zawadi and me to a rehearsal of the kwaya ya vijana at Tabata Lutheran Church. Following is a description of the event:

The day was powerfully hot and humid, and the bus route took us through the worst roads I have ever seen. The encounter between the rainy season and the sandy soil in this remote area of Dar es Salaam had left enormous pools of water in the road, sometimes twenty feet in diameter and up to five feet deep. The driver traveled very slowly, alternately following the shoreline of these pools and navigating right through the middle, the bus leaning precariously towards the surface of the pool, water bursting through the floor boards, and the crowded passengers jostling around inside. When we reached the bus stop closest to the Lutheran church at Tabata, we faced a similarly flooded foot path, which we followed along wooden boards and stones for more than a mile until eventually we entered the church. I felt I had reached the end of the earth.

Inside, the Tabata kwaya ya vijana was practicing for the upcoming regional mashindano (choir competition). Mdegella introduced Zawadi and me and left us sitting in the front row of the choir, where we waited somewhat awkwardly for the remainder of the rehearsal. At the end of the rehearsal, one *male member of the choir stood in front of the group and gave a short reflection on Matthew 5: 8-9.*[9] *Following this, the choir formed a big circle near the altar and began singing. I was thrilled; this was it, this was mapambio! I was too aware of my ignorance to try joining them, so Zawadi and I sat in a pew at the edge of the circle. A young woman with a blue head scarf led a pambio, starting a phrase that was repeated in harmony by the group. After singing one or two of these, the entire choir abruptly stopped singing and started praying. Each individual prayed out loud, and most spoke loudly and emphatically, creating a cacophonous noise. Many people became physically involved by shaking fists, waving arms, and gesturing to the altar, the wooden cross on the wall, or skywards. Some women cried and screamed. Another beat her fists on the wall. Zawadi started laughing into her hand, and, although I glared at her to stop, she went on to point out the people who were speaking in tongues, mocking their behaviour. I myself was so overwhelmed by the experience that I completely ignored her. The prayers, interspersed with singing went on for a while, but I was almost oblivious to the passing time. I was stunned.*

> Charismatic renewal has rejected the liberal, nonsupernatural god who really isn't there anyhow, but it also has rejected the rational evangelical god of the intellect - the great giver of propositional truth - in favor of the God you can feel, respond to, and love, the God who *cares* about our present and our future. It is the knowledge of this God, given through the experience of his Holy Spirit, that has bound charismatics together. (Quebedeaux 1983: xv)

Over the past two decades, Christians in Tanzania have been greatly affected by a wave of interest in the charismatic evangelical movement. According to Peter Wagner, "in all of human history, no other non-political, non-militaristic, voluntary human movement has grown as rapidly as the Pentecostal-charismatic movement in the last twenty-five years" (Vinson Synan 1997: xi). Some estimate the recent evangelical revival generates 20,000 new Christians every day, in Africa alone (Brouwer, Gifford and Rose 1996: 151).

The charismatic movement had its beginnings in the Protestant revivalist camp meetings which became popular in post-Civil War America. Various Protestant church leaders around the country began preaching about the blessings of the Holy Spirit, and teaching that the Spirit could be experienced as in the day of Pentecost described in the New Testament book of Acts:

> When the day of Pentecost came, they were all together in one place. Suddenly a sound like the blowing of a violent wind came from heaven and filled the whole house where they were sitting. They saw what seemed to be tongues of fire that separated and came to rest on each of them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them. (Acts 2: 1-4)

At these meetings, some people experienced physical manifestations of the "baptism of the Spirit," including spontaneous laughter, prostration, and ecstasy (Synan 1997: 50). The teachers of this new movement were usually condemned and thrown out of their original churches; as they attracted more followers, new churches and denominations, such as the Pentecostal Holiness Church and the Church of God, were founded.

A major catalyst of the Pentecostal "revolution" was the so-called Azusa Street Revival, which began in Los Angeles in 1906 and lasted more than three years. This revival, led by the black evangelist William Seymour, attracted hundreds and later thousands of visitors of all races. The revival was characterized by phenomenal religious enthusiasm, as well as singing and speaking in "tongues" (Ibid.: 98). By the time the revival was over, Pentecostalism was spreading rapidly among the poor and dispossessed across the continent (Brouwer, Gifford and Rose 1996: 40). The founding of the largest Pentecostal denomination, the Assemblies of God, in 1912, marked the beginning of an established Pentecostal-charismatic movement in America. This description of the first Pentecostals is valuable; in some ways, it reflects the social situation of contemporary Tanzanians:[10]

> In order to achieve their goals, Pentecostals immersed themselves in the "Full Gospel." At one level, as their preachers were the first to admit, the power of Jesus and the Holy Spirit worked within the boundaries of their communities of worship to meet "felt needs" in practical ways. That is, it helped them overcome immediate suffering due to human failings (or sin) and fight off the demons of alcoholism, mental anguish, sexual temptation, and family discord. Secondly, the discipline and frugality and honesty emphasized in all daily activities helped these Protestant families survive amid a rapidly changing social order. Third, their religious experience was energetic, fervent, and emotionally satisfying. Pentecostal gatherings served to bond the devotional group together with shared intensity of worship at the same time they offered each participant an

> opportunity for enthusiastic release from daily cares and anxieties. (Ibid.: 41)

Over the past century, the Pentecostal-charismatic movement has continued to grow at a phenomenal rate in North America; evangelical Christians now number approximately 65 million people in the United States alone (Ibid.: 3). The largest growth, however, has been in developing countries around the world. The first American Pentecostal missionary to Africa was John Lake (1870-1935), who founded two major denominations in South Africa in the early part of the century (Synan 1997: 138). For the most part, however, it was not until the 1960s that American Pentecostal churches began to look to the rest of the world. Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose assert that this had everything to do with the increasing wealth of the American congregations:

> As Pentecostals moved into the decently paid sectors of the working class and the middle class, they, like devout Protestants of other eras, put significant amounts of their saving into missionary efforts. The Assemblies of God, the various Churches of God, and a vast array of independent ministries spawned by the revivalists and evangelists became engaged in planting churches all over the world. ...The stage was set for a worldwide boom in evangelical, fundamentalist culture with a new Pentecostal emphasis. (1996: 43)

The modern charismatic movement became popular in Tanzania during the 1970s. While some American Pentecostal sending agencies sponsored missionaries in Tanzania before World War II (Collins and Duignan 1963: 78), most of the significant charismatic missionary efforts occurred later.

There are several potential reasons for the popularity of the charismatic movement in Tanzania:

> Pentecostalism began to take hold in various foreign cultures, perhaps because its supernatural methods matched or exceeded those of indigenous practices, but also because its intense, egalitarian religious culture offered solace and a participatory community to poor and dislocated sectors of the population, just as it had in the United States. (Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose 1996: 43)

For poor Tanzanians, with little education, material wealth, or social standing, the security and community offered by charismatic Christianity is significant, and numbers of charismatic Christians have continued to increase throughout the past two decades.

The charismatic revival has been spread not so much through churches as through crusades and revival meetings, organized by American-sponsored churches, most particularly Pentecostal, Assemblies of God, and African Inland Churches (despite its name, an American-founded and funded denomination). Crusades are outdoor evangelical events, which feature musical performances by local soloists and choirs and a lengthy sermon by a guest preacher, followed by a period of prayer for salvation and healing. They often end with demonstrations of healing, or other gifts of the Holy Spirit. The first crusades in Dar es Salaam, as recalled by my Tanzanian colleagues, were initiated by charismatic churches in the 1970s. These crusades were rooted in American evangelistic methods in the tradition of Billy Graham,[11] which were later taught to the Tanzanian churches by missionaries. As

Gideon Mdegella, a well-known Lutheran musician, told me, "Of course, the main part of spreading these Pentecostal churches here is being done by Africans, local people, but they were funded and instructed from the Americans" (Interview, June 24, 1997). Through the work of the crusades, more Tanzanians (sometimes non-Christian, but also Christians from other denominations: Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, even Roman Catholic) became converted to charismatic Christianity. (See Figures 2 and 3 for pictures of a crusade.)

The theology spread through crusades in Tanzania is basically consistent among charismatic believers around the world. "Born again"[12] Christians have a personal relationship with Jesus, are committed to evangelism, have a fundamentalist faith in the Bible (resulting in a conservative approach to behaviour and lifestyles), and believe in the power and gifts of the Holy Spirit. The gifts of the Holy Spirit are usually imparted to the believer upon being born again, and can include any of those described by the apostle Paul in the New Testament:

> Now to each one the manifestation of the Spirit is given for the common good. To one there is given through the Spirit the message of wisdom, to another the message of knowledge by means of the same Spirit, to another faith by the same Spirit, to another gifts of healing by that Spirit, to another miraculous powers, to another prophesy, to another distinguishing between spirits, to another speaking in different kinds of tongues, and to still another the interpretation of tongues. (I Corinthians 12: 7-10)

Figure 2

Workers prepare the stage for a crusade in Dar es Salaam's Mnazi Mmoja square. The top left banner reads "The voice of God to the nation of Tanzania, through this special gathering."

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, Saturday, July 19, 1997.

KATIKA MKUTANO
TANZANIA ITUBU NA KUMGEUKIA MUNGU
UMEJICHANGANYA SANA ILA
WAKO WAKUTAMBULISHA

Figure 3

Participants at Mnazi Mmoja crusade respond to the speaker.

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, Saturday, July 19, 1997.

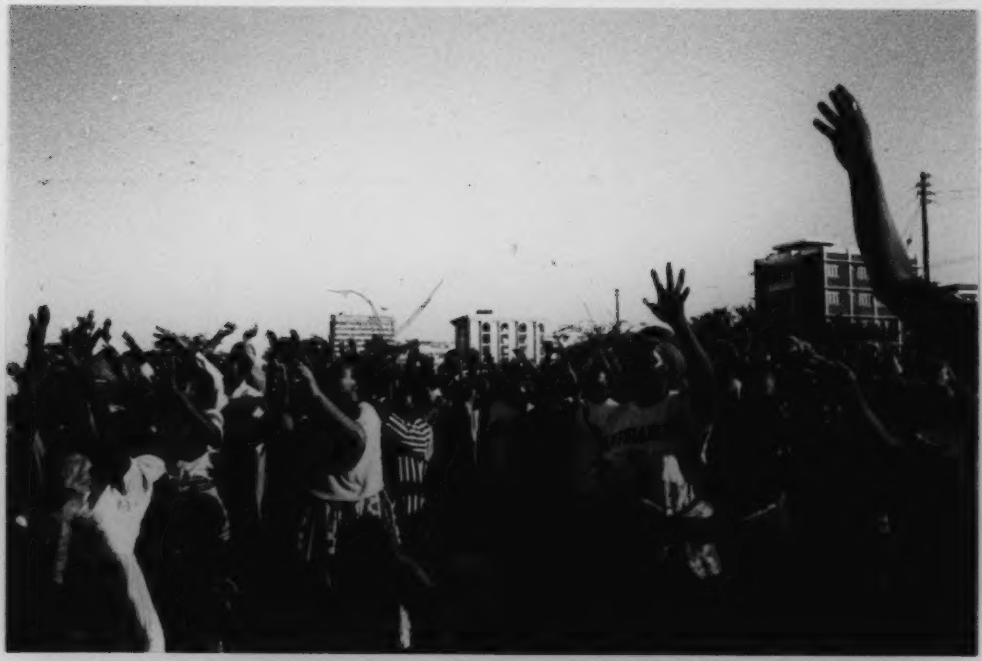


Figure 4

Crusade participants join in a prayer for healing.

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, July 19, 1997.

Spiritual gifts are a key element of being born again, and the demonstration of gifts, particularly those of tongues, healing, and miraculous powers, is a key feature, and attraction, of charismatic events. Frequently, crusades end with a prayer for healing, followed by demonstrations of miracles. See Figure 4 for a photograph of crusade participants praying for healing. Many participants are weeping and speaking in tongues.

Today, crusades comprise the major evangelical efforts of many churches in Dar es Salaam.[13] The most popular speakers, according to many of my colleagues in Tanzania, are North American or European English-speaking evangelists, such as German-born Reinhard Bonnke, South Africa's Ray McCauley, and Americans Morris Cerullo and Ralph Mahoney. During the past decade, mainstream denominations have joined charismatic churches in promoting crusades. For example, Reinhard Bonnke, whose "Fire Conferences" have drawn crowds exceeding 200,000 people in many African cities (Brouwer, Gifford and Rose 1996: 1), is promoted by the Lutheran church in Tanzania.

> A large part of Bonnke's success is attributable to the local churches he involves in preparing for the crusades. Preparation can take up to a year. ...The Lutherans in Tanzania have been prominent in supporting him. ...Bonnke's theology is that of the modern U.S. charismatic variety, and the networks that he creates through staging his crusades are one of the chief conduits of this Christianity, and *are an important influence in modifying existing churches toward this brand of charismatic Christianity.* (Ibid.: 159, emphasis added)

The Lutheran church in Tanzania may currently be in the process of "modifying," but it has not always been so supportive of charismatic efforts. The "born again" theology preached by the charismatics is at odds with Lutheran theology; there is an element of voluntarism in charismatic faith that differs fundamentally from the Lutheran emphasis on salvation by grace. This Lutheran tenet is based on the following passage from Ephesians 2:8: "For by grace you have been saved through faith; and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God..." (Likness 1981: 34). Indeed, for many years Lutheran leaders in Tanzania preached against charismatic beliefs. During the 1970s and early 1980s, when Lutherans became converted to the fundamentalist faith, they often chose, or were forced, to leave their home churches. Gradually, however, this attitude has changed, perhaps through increasing contact with charismatic evangelists, as asserted in the quote above.

George Njabili believes that the attitude of Lutherans in Dar es Salaam has become much more favourable towards charismatic Christians since the appointment of Elinaza Sandoro, a "born again" Christian, as Bishop of the diocese. According to George, at the annual meeting of the national Lutheran church body in 1996, it was finally determined that "born again" Christians must be accepted in churches, and that pastors themselves must be "saved." Many with whom I spoke shared a pragmatic view of these developments in Lutheran church policy: the charismatic movement is now so strong that any official policy against it would only lead to a serious decline in membership at Lutheran churches.

Today, within Lutheran churches in Dar es Salaam, there are active groups of charismatic Christians forming sub-cultures within the larger community. "Born agains" use various social markers to identify each other, such as singing certain songs, particularly mapambio, demonstrating spiritual gifts and openly pursuing evangelism at all times. They hold fellowship meetings and bible studies at which they practice a non-liturgical, "spontaneous, non-literary type of Pentecostal spirituality" (Hollenweger 1997: 34). As yet, the Lutheran liturgy of Sunday services has remained unchanged by the charismatic revival, and traditional elements such as German hymns, robed ministers and prayer benches remain the norm. However, many Lutherans (albeit those involved with the charismatic movement) assured me that Lutheran churches will gradually change to reflect the religious experience of their members.

Charismatic Lutherans, though increasing in number, continue to face some backlash from others, particularly from Christians of other denominations, such as Roman Catholics, and from better-educated and wealthier classes. A common stereotype of the "born again" Christian, expressed to me by many Tanzanians external to the movement, is that of an unhappy person, plagued by poverty, loneliness, or stress, who becomes attracted to the non-liturgical freedom of charismatic worship, in which s/he can express pain and frustration, experience God directly, and become part of a group which offers psychological and emotional support. Some, like traditional Lutheran Edmond Ringo, take a particularly harsh view of the "born agains;" he suggested to me that many of these people are so desperate their only option is suicide, so instead of that they come to church and convert (Interview, June 28, 1997). There appears to be some truth in the stereotype; from my limited experience I found non-charismatic Christians to be generally wealthier and better educated than those who are "born again." However, the charismatic Christian community is not limited to the poor and dispossessed; the attraction of spiritual freedom and direct connection with God has drawn believers from all parts of society.

Charismatic Christians now form distinct communities within Lutheran churches in Tanzania. They have created venues in which they can come together to express shared beliefs, including Bible study groups, fellowship and prayer groups, and choirs. Choirs seem to be particularly important communities for charismatic Lutherans; many kwaya ya vijana and kwaya ya uinjilisti are openly charismatic, and are committed to using music to evangelize. To do this, they typically perform new compositions based on salvation, and also perform the most distinctive musical form associated with charismatics in Tanzania: mapambio.

Endnotes

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[1] The origin of the first missionary expeditions to Africa are in the Evangelical revival of the late eighteenth century, which caused "a great proliferation of Protestant missionary societies; the Catholics followed later, and on a smaller scale." (Isichei 1997: 4)

[2] The relations between various mission organizations were not without conflict, at least in terms of ideology and culture. Alexander Merensky, later to lead the Berlin Missionary Expedition to East Africa in 1891, wrote the following about his previous mission experience in South Africa:

> Many are of the opinion that the Africans think "now the dear Germans have come to free us from the Boers and the English." But that is not so. On the whole they do not view us favourably at all. 25 years ago Germany was still entirely unknown in South Africa. Now, since more German missionaries have come... and since the victory of 1870 this has changed. It pleases them that the Germans are brave; on the other hand they are not pleased that the Germans are poor; German thrift they call meanness. The German is also too diligent for them; the clock, order and punctuality do not please them at all. Nor do they like the certain disregard and openness...especially if beating is involved. The English are on the whole more respected because they have more money and do less work. The English let the Africans have their independence earlier, allow them to live in laziness and scarcely ever punish sins by church discipline. Also the German Mission Institutes are not beloved...because the people there pay fees and work for nothing. Nevertheless, the German mission works more in the sense of Jesus than the missions of other people, by introducing the correct discipline and upholding it. (Quoted in Wright 1971: 19)

[3] This issue has continued to gain momentum during the postcolonial period, and negotiation between cultures, whether in liturgy, music, or theology, is a central concern in many African churches today.

[4] The term "Evangelical" in the Lutheran context has to do with its connection to the German pietists of the last century, and is not associated with the evangelical-charismatic Christian movement which will be discussed further in the chapter.

[5] The strength of the Lutheran church in Tanzania is put into perspective when compared to neighbouring Kenya: in 1986 there were only eight Lutheran churches in Nairobi, four belonging to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, and four belonging to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania-Kenya Synod. (Niemeyer 1989: Appendix A)

[6] John Mgandu, a music teacher and composer in Dar es Salaam, relates how members of his Roman Catholic church angrily opposed the introducction of "vernacular" music, as late as the 1960s. (Interview with Gregory Barz, June 17, 1994)

[7] This change of consciousness originated in Africanist developments in the political sphere:

> In 1958 the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) was formed at Mwanza by African political leaders representing the nationalist movements of Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, Nyasaland (now Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe)... It was administered by a permanent secretariat in Dar es Salaam. PAFMECSA's immediate objetive was to present a united front in support of rapid and nonviolent transition to independence in all of eastern, central, and southern Africa... (Yeager 1982: 97-8).

Even though this organization was disbanded in 1963, it initiated a public awareness of pan-Africanism that gained strength in the next two decades.

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[8] I made this assumption, later confirmed by Zawadi, based on the dress of the members. Apparently many of them came directly to rehearsals from work.
[9] "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called sons of God."
[10] I have chosen to quote Brouwer, Gifford and Rose at length in this section because their book is one of the few to offer a "secular," or outsider approach to the history of Pentecostalism.
[11] As far as I could determine, Billy Graham himself never led crusades in Africa. In 1989, he did broadcast three evenings of a crusade in London to Africa. Some countries broadcast the crusade live, while other received video tapes for later broadcast (Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose: 160).
[12] The phrase "born again" is based on the words of Jesus in John 3: 3, "I tell you the truth, no one can see the kingdom of God unless he is born again."
[13] Again, I quote Brouwer, Gifford and Rose: "The crusade phenomenon is on the increase all over Africa, and by the 1990s had become part of the local scene." (1996: 61)

Chapter Two: *Imba!* A Profile of Mapambio

Musical Characteristics

I was introduced to mapambio through performing with the Mtoni Evangelical Choir. One of my first opportunities to perform mapambio occurred when Zawadi and I were invited to join the choir at the home of a deceased man whose niece sang with the choir. We arrived at Mtoni to find George Njabili, the vice-chairman of the choir, leading a group of women in prayer in preparation for the event. Zawadi suddenly realized that all the women were wearing *kangas* (traditional cotten cloth, worn as skirts and headscarves), and explained to me that it was customary for women to wear them during periods of mourning. We both felt upset that we did not have kangas, particularly Zawadi, for she was wearing pants, which many Tanzanian women consider inappropriate under any circumstance. Soon, however, the women in the choir had produced two extra cloths for Zawadi and me, and we joined the rest of the group in loading the keyboard, guitars, and amplifiers and piling onto an old bus.

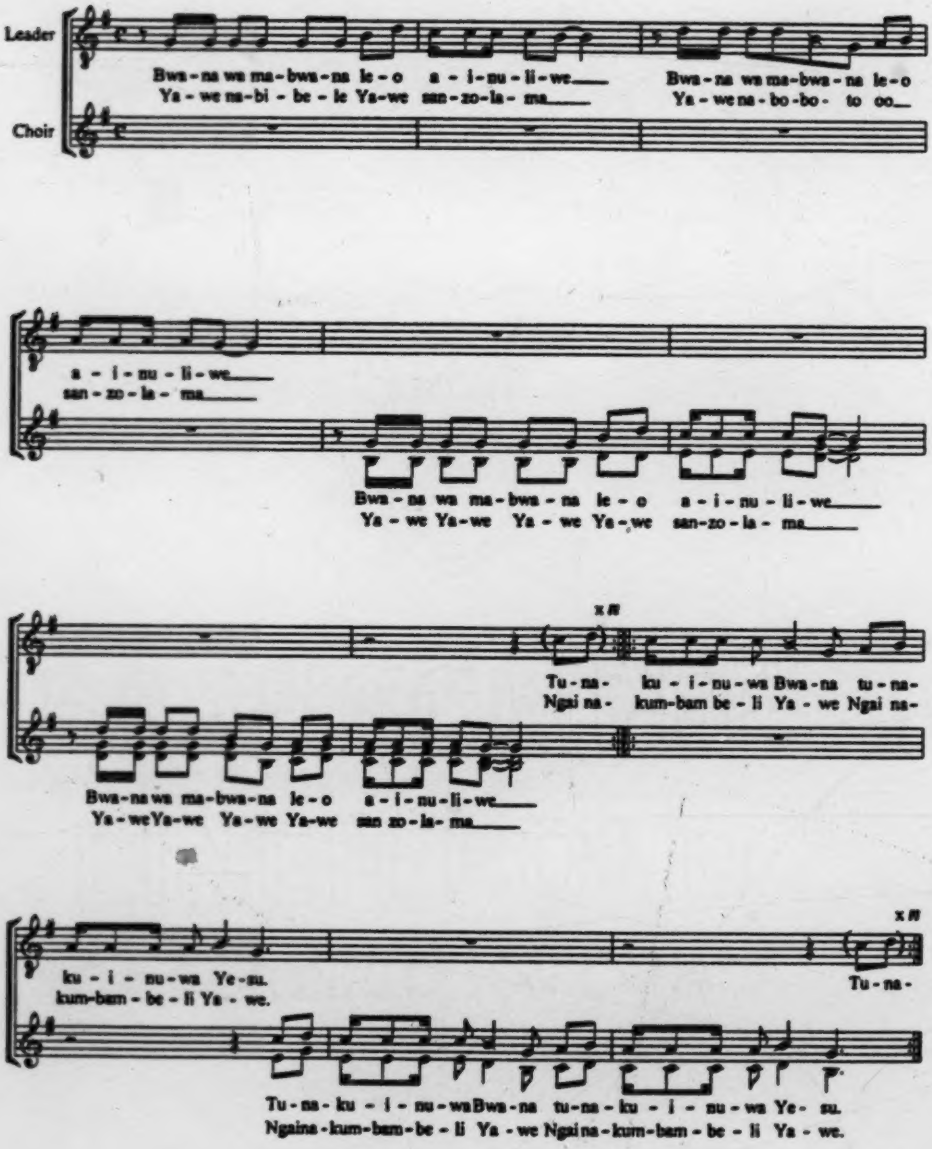
After a half-hour journey on windy, unpaved roads through Mbagala, a remote suburb of Dar es Salaam, we arrived at the family home of the man who had died. He had been buried the previous day and many extended relatives and friends remained at the family home for the traditional period of mourning. As choir members set up the instruments in the large sandy clearing in front of the house, children from the area crowded around to watch the activity, and within a short time we had an audience of at least 100. This area was poorer than any I had seen in Dar es Salaam, and the children watching us were mostly naked, and as skinny-armed and round-bellied as any shown on food aid advertisements in North America. Women brought chairs for the family members of the deceased man to sit on and laid several large woven mats on the ground for the female members of the choir. The male members of the choir sat some distance away, facing us, on couches.

After the sound equipment was set up in the clearing between the male and female members of the choir, George Njabili announced to the crowd that we would sing mapambio. As the three instrumentalists started to play, the members of the choir stood up and we began to sing and dance, ten men on one side of the instruments and about twenty women on the other.[1] We performed in this way for nearly an hour, singing, dancing, and moving with the rhythm of the music.

Recorded Example 1: "*Bwana wa mabwana leo ainuliwe*" ("Exalt the Lord of Lords today"), Mtoni Evangelical Choir (George Njabili, lead singer), Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Recorded by Kathleen Warke, June 28, 1997.

Figure 5

Musical Transcription of Recorded Example 1.[2]


Leader
Choir
Bwa-na wa ma-bwa-na le-o a-i-nu-li-we
Ya-we na-bi-be-le Ya-we san-zo-la-ma
Bwa-na wa ma-bwa-na le-o
Ya-we na-bo-bo-to oo
a-i-nu-li-we
san-zo-la-ma
Bwa-na wa ma-bwa-na le-o a-i-nu-li-we
Ya-we Ya-we Ya-we Ya-we san-zo-la-ma
x n
Tu-na-ku-i-nu-wa Bwa-na tu-na-
Ngai na-kum-bam be-li Ya-we Ngai na-
Bwa-na wa ma-bwa-na le-o a-i-nu-li-we
Ya-we Ya-we Ya-we Ya-we san zo-la-ma
ku-i-nu-wa Ye-su.
kum-bam-be-li Ya-we.
x n
Tu-na-
Tu-na-ku-i-nu-wa Bwa-na tu-na-ku-i-nu-wa Ye-su.
Ngai na-kum-bam-be-li Ya-we Ngai na-kum-bam-be-li Ya-we.

Translation of text
Verse One: Bwana wa ma bwana leo ainuliwe
(Exalt the Lord of lords today)
Chorus: Tunakuinuwa Bwana, tunakuinuwa Yesu
(We are glorifying you, Lord. We are glorifying you, Jesus)
Verse Two: Yawe nabibele, Yawe sanzolama, Yawe naboboto, oo sanzolama
In Lingala (God of eternity, God be glorified, God of peace, oo be glorified.)
Chorus: Ngai nakubambeli Yawe, Yawe, Yawe
(I am worshipping you, my God, God, God)

In this example one can see many of the musical characteristics typical of mapambio. Mapambio are improvised, call-and-response choruses performed by Christians, usually charismatic Protestants, in Kenya and Tanzania. Mapambio are often led by choirs, but they are performed by entire assemblies or groups of participants. They are usually performed in an unrehearsed, or casual manner, as vehicles for spontaneous expressions of praise and joy (Barz 1997: 235). Although no two performances of a single pambio are alike, there are certain identifiable characteristics that distinguish the genre.

Mapambio are structured around brief melodic phrases. Each pambio is usually made up of one or two metered phrases, which are organized into several verses sung by the song leader, and a chorus, which is repeated by the choir or congregation. (Sometimes, as in Example 1, the group repeats the verses as well as the chorus.) Repetition is a key element in the performance of mapambio, with each part of a pambio being repeated such that performances of one pambio commonly last between ten and thirty minutes. As Gunderson observed about mapambio performance at schools in Kenya:

> Single call-and-response choruses can go on for extended periods, with verses repeating over and over again. Lines and verses within the choruses are often switched around, so it is important to listen to the caller. (1991: 96)

The melodies of most mapambio are in a major tonality, have a limited range, and use syncopated rhythms. The melodic line is carried in strong vocal unison, with various singers spontaneously adding simple harmony to the chorus. This harmony is usually in thirds and follows a V-I cadential pattern which singers know through familiarity with Western hymns and popular music. Vocal ornaments such as *vigelegele*, the high-pitched ululating trill heard in this example, are often added by women.

When discussing features of mapambio with Tanzanian musicians, I was frequently given a distinction between two types of mapambio: "worshipping" and "praising." Worshipping mapambio are slower and seemingly more reverent than the livelier praising mapambio. The musical structure and form of the two are similar, the primary difference between them being the speed with which they are performed, the attitude of the performers, and the context of performance. Worshipping mapambio are often performed during times of prayer, or meditation, and are therefore more commonly sung at Bible studies and fellowship events. Alternatively, praising mapambio are more common at crusades, or before or after worship services or choir competitions when the goal is to entertain people and inspire participation. Because the two types of mapambio share so many characteristics, I make little distinction between them throughout the thesis.

The texts of mapambio are almost always in Kiswahili,[3] and usually consist of one or two simple phrases describing God or the Christian experience. The text of the chorus gives the pambio its name, and it remains unchanged throughout the performance, whereas the texts of the verses and the interjections of the caller are usually improvised. Gideon Mdegella told me that the texts of some mapambio are taken from biblical passages, but more often "someone is expressing a feeling... regarding his relationship with God." However, "it's not always necessary that texts express feelings. They can be used to warn, to console, to stimulate. It's an all-round type of presentation" (Interview, June 24, 1997). Some popular pambio texts that I heard in 1997 included:

> *Wewe ni Mungu, waweza wote. Hakuna Mungu kama wewe*
> (You are God, all powerful. There is no God like you.)
> *Yote alimaliza pale Kalivari*
> (All was finished at Calvary.)
> *Tunakuabudu Bwana, tunakuabudu*
> (We worship you, Lord, we worship you.)

Some texts are more colloquial, taken from specific Kiswahili phrases or proverbs that make more sense in Kiswahili than in translation. For example:

> *Ninasonga mbele, sitarudi nyuma*
> (I am going forward and never returning.)
> *Chimbua, tumtupe Shetani*
> (Dig up, let's throw away Satan!)

The role of the song leader is very important in the performance of mapambio. The song leader initiates the pambio, usually in consultation with the instrumentalist(s). Anyone can start a pambio in an informal setting such as a Bible study, or before or after choir rehearsals. However, some song leaders are recognized as being better than others; at crusades, a choir might nominate a leader based on the strength of his or her voice, ability to sing texts clearly, and most importantly, ability to drive a performance. Besides being responsible for setting the pitch and tempo of a pambio, song leaders also control the emotional intensity of the performance, and must have a good sense of repetition and variation in order to keep the interest and excitement of the group. Although both Gunderson (1991: 96) and Kidula (1995: 4) observe that women are most often chosen as leaders of mapambio in Kenya, I heard an equal representation of male and female leaders in Dar es Salaam. Since any one pambio performance may last at least fifteen minutes, at large evangelical events it is quite common for one person to lead only two or three pieces before another leader takes over. It is clearly an honour to be the song leader; in fact, on several occasions I saw a group of men and women politely jostling for the microphone. The other singers are the toughest judges, however; I saw lead singers corrected or even booed off the microphone by members of the chorus for choosing an awkward key, losing the tune of a pambio, or otherwise failing to be a good leader.

One of the most important jobs of the lead singer is "coining," an English term given to me by some Tanzanians to refer to the leader's role of improvising and adding interjections during a performance to enhance the message and experience of the piece. Below, I have transcribed the interjections of a song leader, Bwana Blackson of the Christian student association at the Dar es Salaam School of Accountancy. This evangelical event, at which the Mtoni Evangelical Choir gave a guest performance, was held in honour of a visiting Kenyan preacher. Several upbeat mapambio opened the event, and at this point Bwana Blackson wanted to bring the excitement level down and focus the crowd with a period of prayer before the speaker began. I have chosen this example not because he was particularly graceful, but because his interjections can be clearly heard above the instrumentalists and chorus. Through "coining," he gradually slows the tempo, changing the mood of the performance such that the period of prayer is begun smoothly.

Recorded Example 2: "*Unastahili kuabudiwa, unastahili ee Yesu*" ("You deserve to be honoured, Oh Jesus"), Mtoni Evangelical Choir and congregation (Bwana Blackson, song leader), Dar es Salaam School of Accountancy, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Recorded by Kathleen Warke, July 13, 1997.

Bwana Blackson	Participants	English Translation
	Repeated melody: Unastahili kuabudiwa, unastahili ee Yesu. Unastahili kuabudiwa, unastahili ee.	You deserve to be honoured, oh Jesus. You deserve to be honoured.
Maishani mwangu		In my life
	Unastahili...	You deserve...
Tunakuhimidi		We cling to you
	Unastahili...	You deserve..
Uliye bwana		You, Lord
	Unastahli...	You deserve...
Tunakuimbia		We sing for you
Haleluya		
Kuamatendo yangu		By my deeds
	Unastahili...	You deserve...
Tanzania yote		In all of Tanzania
	Unastahili...	You deserve...
Kwa kwaya hii		By this choir [he refers to the Mtoni Choir]
	Unastahili...	You deserve...
Kwa neema		By your grace
Bwana mwenye-enzi		Almighty Lord
Tunakuomba Bwana kua		We ask you Lord [that we might praise you]
Haleluya		
Bwana unatosha		Lord, you are enough
Bwana unaweza		Lord, you are able
O Yesu wakuone		Oh Jesus, let people see [that]
	Unastahili...	You deserve...

The issue of composition, often complicated in oral, improvisational genres, is one that I examined only indirectly in my study of mapambio. Gideon Mdegella claimed that he has composed many mapambio, which he has notated and taught to his choirs. His description of the features of mapambio reflect his conception of them as a composer:

> One. It must be a short thing, repeated over and over. Two. All of them, in fact, must be in a style where the rhythm can move with a certain style of dancing. Some style where you can mix singing with movements... Thirdly, the message is repeated over and over. (Interview, June 24, 1997)

George Njabili, on the other hand, told me on several occasions that mapambio are the work of the Holy Spirit. George has also composed mapambio, but he has no Western music training, and does not conceive of them in terms of isolated features. Rather, they come to him in dreams, or through his being "touched" by the Spirit. He said that this influence of the Spirit makes his mapambio "different from those composed by people who know notation," implying that his mapambio have more "feeling," and therefore more power to touch people and change lives.

> I know that even the notations [notated music] are coming from feeling. The only thing is that they are not free, you see? They are not free. They are bound to a certain... a certain path of singing. (Interview, July 19, 1997)

Besides the newly composed mapambio, many people sang for me different pambio tunes from South Africa, or North America,[4] or from the traditional melodies of Tanzanian ethnic groups. Regardless of their melodic origins, however, everyone agreed that mapambio are changed and altered through performance, and become popular or forgotten based on public acceptance. As Innocent Mjema, a young Lutheran congregant, told me, "Mapambio come and go like popular music. They change from year to year" (Interview, June 18, 1997).

This comment comparing mapambio to popular music is particularly pertinent, as one of the most distinctive features of the genre is its similarity to popular music. Many characteristics are shared, the most obvious being the use of instruments and musical styles. Mapambio can be performed a cappella, with clapping or vigelegele as accompaniment, but they are more commonly accompanied by electric instruments. The instruments used in Recorded Examples 1 and 2 are two battered electric guitars and a CASIO keyboard, performed by three of the seven or eight men who share instrumental duties in the Mtoni Evangelical Choir. These instruments were used at every performance I witnessed of the choir, whether for mapambio, original compositions, or to underscore and accompany periods of prayer. The process whereby electricity was found to operate these instruments was not something that I asked about, as it was handled entirely by the instrumentalists– one sub-culture within the choir that I found more difficult to access. In performances at churches or people's homes, electricity was available within the building, but at outdoor events they must have located nearby generators and run extension cords to the instruments.

The use of instruments in the Lulu choir is typical of many Lutheran choirs, particulary *kwaya ya vijana* (youth choirs) and evangelical choirs, though the number, quality, and condition of the instruments varies greatly. The expense of this equipment is a burden assumed by the members of choirs, who are continually in the process of raising money (through sales of cassettes and other fundraising activities) for new outfits, tour expenses, or the purchase of instruments, speakers, and other equipment. An amplified guitar and keyboard seem to be the minimum requirements for mapambio performance, with the possible addition of an electric bass and a drum set. Usually CASIO keyboards are used to provide a selection of rhythmic patterns. Microphones are also important equipment, as the lead singer must be heard clearly over the instruments for the performance to work. Women rarely play instruments– in fact, I never saw a woman play anything other than simple percussion instruments like rattles and bells. Interestingly, the Mtoni Evangelical Choir used to have a female guitar player; unfortunately she had moved away by the time I sang with the choir.

The instruments used to accompany mapambio (along with other compositions of youth and evangelical choirs) are the same as those used by popular music bands, and the instrumental style used in mapambio tends to imitate popular music forms. While the vocal melodies and harmonies of mapambio may reflect the influence of hymn tunes, the instrumental accompaniment reflects East African urban jazz, Central African dance forms such as *soukous*, and South African *mbaqanga*. This relationship with popular music is a distinctive element of the genre of mapambio. Barz writes that mapambio "are an important part of the popular music effort of youth kwayas, often accompanied by electric guitars and keyboards along with expensive electric rhythm/drum machines" (1997: 270).[5] Jean Ngoya Kidula confirms this experience in Kenya, stating that even if the choruses are performed a cappella, "the popular element remains 'understood'" (1995: 5). In the following example, the relationship between mapambio and popular music is explicit: the plucked guitar style clearly imitates Central African popular styles such as soukous.[6]

Recorded Example 3: "*Bwana Yesu*" (Lord Jesus), Mtoni Evangelical Choir (Frank Mwamkemwa, guitar), Magomeni African Inland Church, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Recorded by Kathleen Warke, July 6, 1997.

Several other features of mapambio reflect its close association with popular musics. For example, a certain dynamic level is important. As Corbitt rather bluntly states: "There are no dynamic contrasts. Loud is usually better" (1985: 163). There is also a strong emphasis placed on physical movement in performance. While many choirs and congregations perform Western hymns and songs in the Lutheran church with an exaggeratedly rigid posture, mapambio must be performed with movement. Swaying, twisting and clapping seem to be the minimum requirement, while exuberant dancing is the norm. (Details about the physical characteristics of mapambio performance will be discussed further in the chapter.) Mapambio performance also shares aesthetic features with popular music. An excellent mapambio performance must be energetic, exciting, musically "tight," and fun. The following vignette, based on an excerpt from my field journal, describes an event in which these aesthetic elements were in place, and the performance of mapambio was very successful. It also highlights the similarity between mapambio and popular African music.

The noise is deafening in Msasani Lutheran Church. It is Sunday afternoon, and mellow sunlight slants through openings in the cement brick walls. Above the noise of the crowd and the ongoing commentary of Zawadi, I hear birds chirping and squawking in the rafters. All the competing choirs in today's mashindano ya kwaya ya vijana *(youth choir competition) have joined together for one last rendition of the "set piece," and now the judges are deliberating and the excited crowd must be entertained. A group of instrumentalists from the Msasani* kwaya ya vijana *start up their electric guitars and keyboards.* "Sasa tutaimba mapambio," *someone announces from the front, "Now we will sing mapambio." The instrumentalists break into a driving rhythmic pattern and the atmosphere in the church becomes electric; people leap to their feet, clapping and dancing as they listen to the young woman leading the pambio:* "Ninaye Yesu ndiyo maana naringa" *(I am with Jesus; that's why I am proud!) The crowd sings back in harmony, dancing and cheering as the pambio* *repeats.* "Ninaye Yesu ndiyo maana naimba" *(I am with Jesus; that's why I am singing!) As the pambio continues, dancers form a line and follow each other around the church, shouting, laughing and "grooving" as they sing.* "Ninaye Yesu ndiyo maana nacheza" *(I am with Jesus; that's why I am dancing!) The tension of the competition is past now, and the music and high-spirited dancing continue until the judges announce the winner.*

Recorded Example 4: *"Ninaye Yesu, ndiyo maana naringa,"* Msasani kwaya ya vijana (Isaac Kileo, guitar), Msasani Lutheran Church, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Recorded by Kathleen Warke, June 15, 1997.

Origins of the Genre

Mapambio are only one of several different vocal genres that Tanzanian Lutherans perform regularly. German hymns, American revivalist choruses, classical Western music, and contemporary Tanzanian compositions of many different styles are all performed by Lutheran choirs and congregations. Mapambio stand apart from these genres in the Lutheran church, however, because of their deep association with the values of those who embrace charismatic Christianity.

Soon after starting research, I became interested in determining the origins of mapambio, and how these choruses had come to be so deeply associated with charismatic Christianity. This proved to be difficult, because the genre is so new to Lutherans in Tanzania. Most people whom I asked about mapambio told me that they could remember the first time they had heard mapambio, and these experiences ranged from less than 10 years ago to 1980 at the very earliest. Few people could give me an explanation of where they had come from, other than that "the Pentecostals" or "Americans" had brought them. Since returning to Canada, I have found it difficult to locate references to the origins of mapambio, given the dearth of research on Christian expressive culture in Africa. However, the few references I could find present information consistent with my experience of the genre in Tanzania.

Barz includes limited information about mapambio in his dissertation. He believes there is a fundamental connection between mapambio and the simple Western choruses introduced to Tanzania by the first European missionaries and used to teach languages and basic Christian beliefs. However, he also recognizes the influence of South African expressive forms in the genre. He states: "The origin of many, though not all, mapambio is southern Africa and Europe, but most kwayas refer to them simply as 'African.'" (1997: 270) Indeed, researchers in other African countries have described musical forms similar to mapambio in conjunction with charismatic worship much earlier than they apparently appeared in Tanzania. Allie Dubb, who researched the African Assembly of God in East London, South Africa, in 1957, observed the following:

> In addition [to hymns and psalms], there are numerous revival hymns, choruses and songs with lively tunes used either

> exclusively by the Assemblies or shared with other Pentecostal churches.
>
> While it seems that the borrowed and more universal elements of the service are treated with greater reverence, since they are usually sung with bowed heads and closed eyes or whilst standing, the revival songs seem to excite the congregation to a greater degree. Thus, whereas these songs are generally followed by cries of "Amen," "Halleluja", and a general murmur of satisfaction and enjoyment, one rarely observes much reaction to a borrowed hymn or chant. This is not entirely surprising, since the lyrics are simple and expressive, while the melodies are lively and often accompanied by rhythmic gestures which emphasize the words. (1976: 100)

In a note below, he comments further on these "revival songs":

> Some of the songs- mainly those which have been translated from English- are modifications of once popular tunes. Those originally written in the vernacular, however, are similar in style to modern popular township music, though, as far as could be ascertained, they are not taken from actual hits. (1976: 100)

The popular nature of these revival songs above confirm their resemblance to mapambio. Scholars in East Africa have also described similar genres, originating in the 1950s. Nathan Corbitt, who did his research among Baptists in Kenya, describes "Kiswahili pambio," a genre very different from typical East African church music in performance, aesthetics, and musical structure, which began to develop in connection with the introduction of non-liturgical worship through the Pentecostals in 1953, and continued to grow in popularity in several denominations up to the time of writing (1985: 185). Also, in a short article describing genres prevalent in Protestant churches in Nairobi, Jean Ngoya Kidula writes about choruses "based on popular models" that seem to be mapambio, though she does not actually name the genre. Kidula also points out the connection between this style and South African popular forms: performers of these choruses "demonstrate borrowings from South African popular models by using *mbaqanga* rhythms and instrumental forms. Vocal techniques associated with *Mbube* groups are especially evident in vocal slides" (1995: 4). I feel confident that she is describing mapambio, because she explains that the genre was introduced to Kenyans by touring Tanzanian choirs, and states that the style "began with the African Inland Churches who were affiliated with Tanzania" (1995: 5).[7] Unfortunately, she gives no dates for this activity.

All scholarly references to mapambio confirm that the genre arose in conjunction with charismatic Christian activity in the area. It seems likely that the call-and-response, popular-based style first developed in South African charismatic churches in the 1950s, and was later brought to coastal East Africa by American and African missionaries familiar with the style. Without a doubt, the popular music-based choruses were given freedom to develop because of the charismatic agenda of non-liturgical worship, which can most clearly be seen in the activities of charismatic denominations such as Pentecostal Holiness churches and Assemblies of God.

Performance and Functions

Delton Alford, author of *Music in the Pentecostal Church*, a guide book for church musicians, argues that the functions of music in charismatic churches arise from distinguishing features of charismatic theology, such as its emphasis on spontaneity, emotion, and orality. He states:

> The music which arose from and which reflects that Pentecostal environment and belief of necessity is less liturgical in style. It is more personal in its expression and is *emphatically spirited and spiritual in its attitude of performance.* Consequently it is somewhat different in sound and concept from musical expressions of other eras of church history. (1967: 18, emphasis added)

The attitude of performance that Alford isolates above is one of the characteristics that most clearly distinguishes mapambio from other music performed by Lutherans. While hymns and Western classical music are performed with very little physical movement, mapambio are often performed with vigorous dancing, or swaying and waving of arms. The style of dancing associated with mapambio confirms its musical association with popular music, and is one reason why conservative Lutherans disapprove of mapambio; several told me that charismatic Christians seem too much like they are dancing in a bar or other secular environment.

The physical performance style and dance associated with mapambio reflect its popular appeal. When people perform mapambio, they dance, sway, clap and jump in a very exuberant manner. This is noteworthy in itself, but it is remarkable when compared to the way Lutherans perform other genres, such as hymns and songs of European origin, or songs composed by Tanzanian church musicians. While in Tanzania, I saw about 15 kwaya ya vijana perform at two different mashindano, and perhaps 10 other choirs at various church services. With few exceptions, these choirs perform each genre in similar, distinctive ways.

When Lutheran choirs perform hymns or songs of European origin, the singers assume an extremely stiff posture. They stand with arms at the side, backs straight, and chins thrust forward (see Figure 6). There is no swaying or other motion involved. This posture, as I witnessed at the rehearsals of a few kwaya ya vijana, is strictly enforced by the *mwalimu* (teacher; leader); it is generally accepted as the only correct way to perform such music. The association between Western music and this particular posture is clearly an enduring effect of the mission encounter. In the physical stiffness, one can see the very embodiment of the colonial and missionary history.

The grave disapproval of the early missionaries toward unclothed, moving African bodies has been well-documented. Traditionally, Tanzanians would not have conceived of music apart from dance and movement. For example, the Kiswahili word *ngoma* is translated as "a drum, any kind of dance event, and/or music in general"(*A Standard Swahili English Dictionary*). However, missionaries introduced a distinction between music and dance along with the European-Christian world view. Converted Christians were encouraged and sometimes required to abandon traditional music and dances because of their perceived eroticism and frequent association with "pagan" rituals. Instead, they learned to sing without dancing. Veit Erlmann, writing about South Africa, comments on the fundamental attitudes of early missionaries towards the African body.

> In the rhetoric of evolution, race, and color, white bodies were thought to incarnate rationality, whereas dark skins were associated with fogged minds. Blind to the profound significance of African politics, scientific racism reduced Africans to a natural essence, to mere bodies shackled to their primordial nature, disrobed of any symbolic meaning fostered by socially ordered human intercourse. Black bodies, like women in general, were thought to be held in bondage by the sensory stimuli of the environment and the dark and unreasoned forces of their own needs and functions. (1996: 180)

In contrast with the stiff stillness assumed for European songs and hymns, contemporary Tanzanian compositions are usually performed with a series of controlled, choreographed movements. These movements may be performed by some or all the choir members, and usually involve arm swings, head and hand motions, and simple walking steps (see Figures 7 and 8). I did not research the history of choreography in Lutheran choirs, but I am sure that this choreography reflects the influence of Western choruses and "action songs" introduced by missionaries, as well as that of *isicathamiya*, the South African choral tradition made world famous by Ladysmith Black Mombazo.[8] Unlike the codified dances of isicathamiya (see Erlmann 1996: Chapter 6), the choreography used by Lutheran choirs is based on the physical demonstration of texts; fingers point up during references to heaven, and arms are spread far apart during lyrics about the crucifixion.

An excellent example of such choreography can be found in the chorus of "Tazameni," a wimbo that I performed with the Mtoni Evangelical Choir:

Kiswahili Lyrics	English Translation	Movement
Tangu sasa, na milele	For now and forever	Hands circle each other in front of chest (imitating a walking motion)
Shetani hana lake tena	Satan has nothing (anymore)	Head shakes, as arms swing to the sides in an exaggerated "No"
Kwa sababu Bwana Yesu	Because Lord Jesus	Index finger of right hand points upward, signifying heaven
Amekuja kuniweka huru	Has come to set me free	Finger points down, until the word "huru," when arms swing open.
Mpokee ndugu yangu	Receive Him my brother	Arms clasped across chest, body sways
Na wewe utakuwa huru (repeated nX)	And you will be free	Index finger of right hand points at the audience, then arms open and close repeatedly, as body twists to face person on the left, then right, repeating as necessary

Recorded Example 5: "*Tazameni*" (Look) Mtoni Evangelical Choir. Recorded on *Hakikisha Jina Lako Limeandikwa Mbinguni: Mtoni Evangelical Choir (Lulu)*, no date.

Figure 6

Mtoni Lutheran Church kwaya ya vijana (Yona Shakitomo, mwalimu), performing a hymn. Temeke district kwaya ya vijana mashindano (competition), at Mtoni Lutheran Church, Dar es Salaam. Photograph by Kathleen Warke, July 20, 1997.

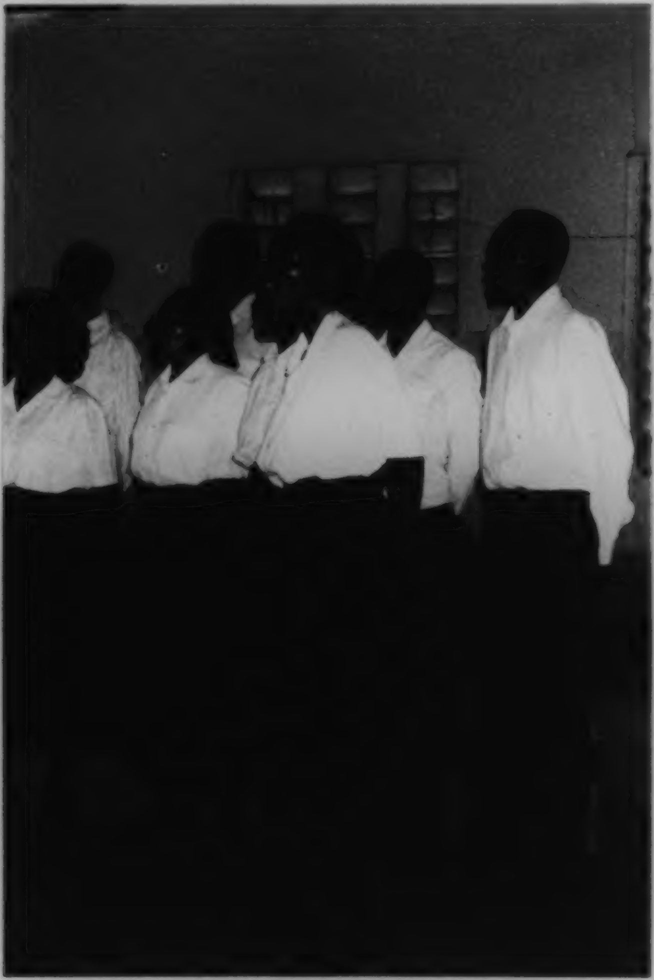


Figure 7

Vetinari Lutheran Church kwaya ya vijana performing an original composition with traditional instruments and choreographed movements. Temeke district kwaya ya vijana mashindano (competition), at Mtoni Lutheran Church, Dar es Salaam.

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, July 20, 1997.

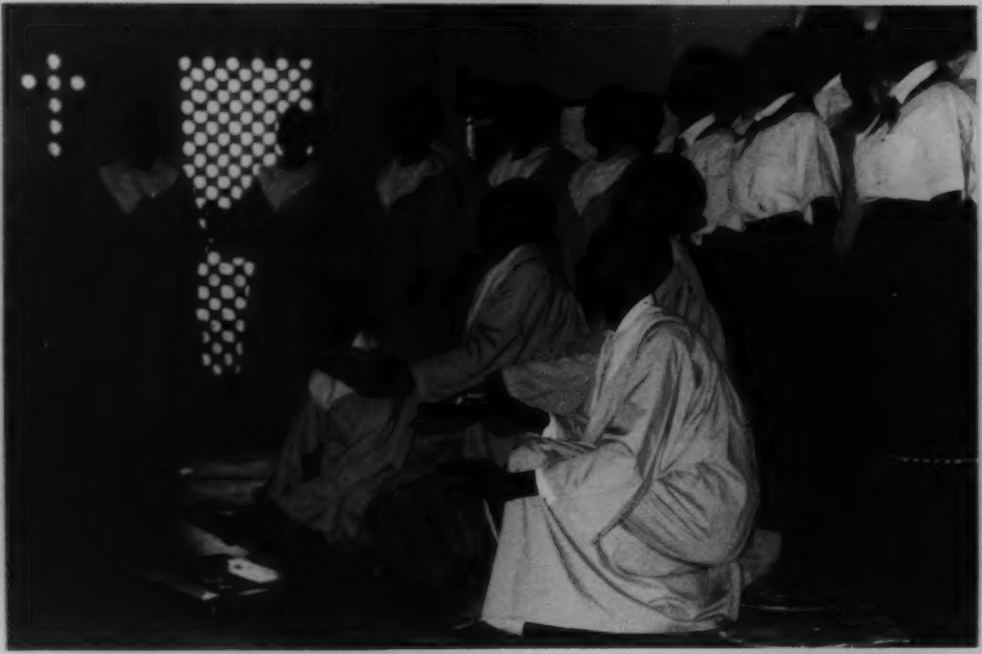
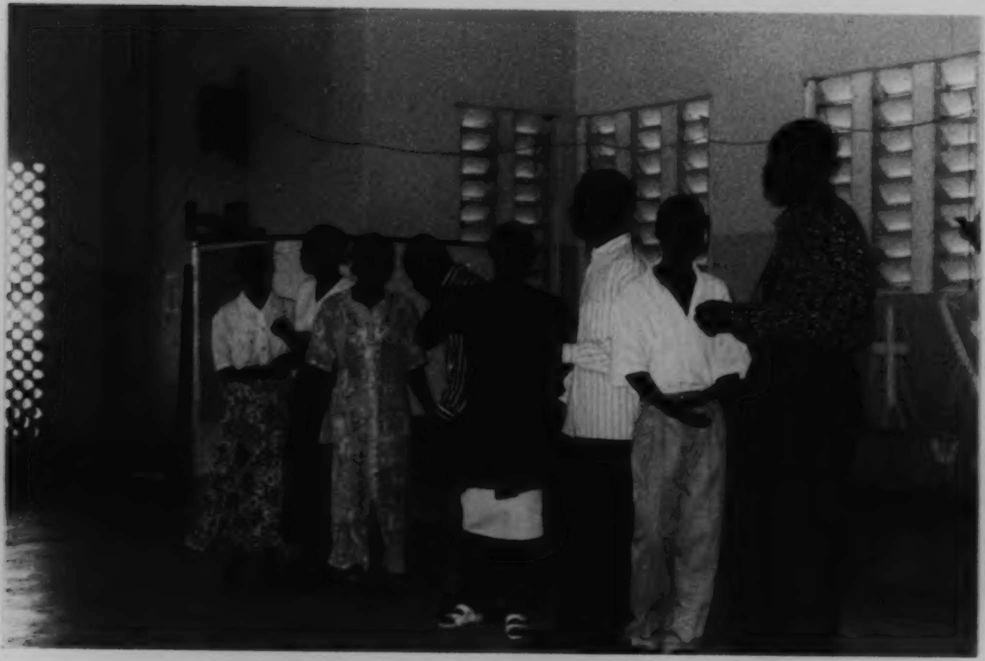


Figure 8

Mbagala Lutheran Church kwaya ya vijana performing a wimbo with choreographed movements. Temeke district kwaya ya vijana mashindano (competition), at Mtoni Lutheran Church, Dar es Salaam.

Photograph by Kathleen, Warke, July 20, 1997.



The choreographed motions used in performing contemporary compositions represent a kind of middle ground between hymn and mapambio performance styles; some individual physical expression is allowed for, but in a controlled manner. In contrast, mapambio performance *requires* movement, and individual physical expression. As discussed above, Gideon Mdegella stated that mapambio must have rhythms that allow for some kind of movement.

The physical expression that occurs during mapambio performance is totally improvised. There is no set pattern of movement; people move the way they want to, with encouragement and occasional suggestions from the song leader. Nathan Corbitt isolates the influence of Pentecostal theology as the source of physical freedom in the performance of "Kiswahili pambio." I could find no other references to the distinction he makes between "Book Music" and "Body Music," but his terminology is apt, and certainly consistent with the experience of Tanzanians as expressed to me during research. Many people made a sharp distinction between "notated music" such as hymns and hymn-based contemporary compositions, and improvised genres such as mapambio.

> The greatest primary historical influence on the music came from the Pentecostals in 1953 when the Coastal Christian was given approval to use his body in worship and praise. This change from Book Music to Body Music opened a floodgate for a new musical expression by a people who naturally expressed themselves with their bodies in song. By 1972 missionaries were accepting this music and freedom, even encouragement, was

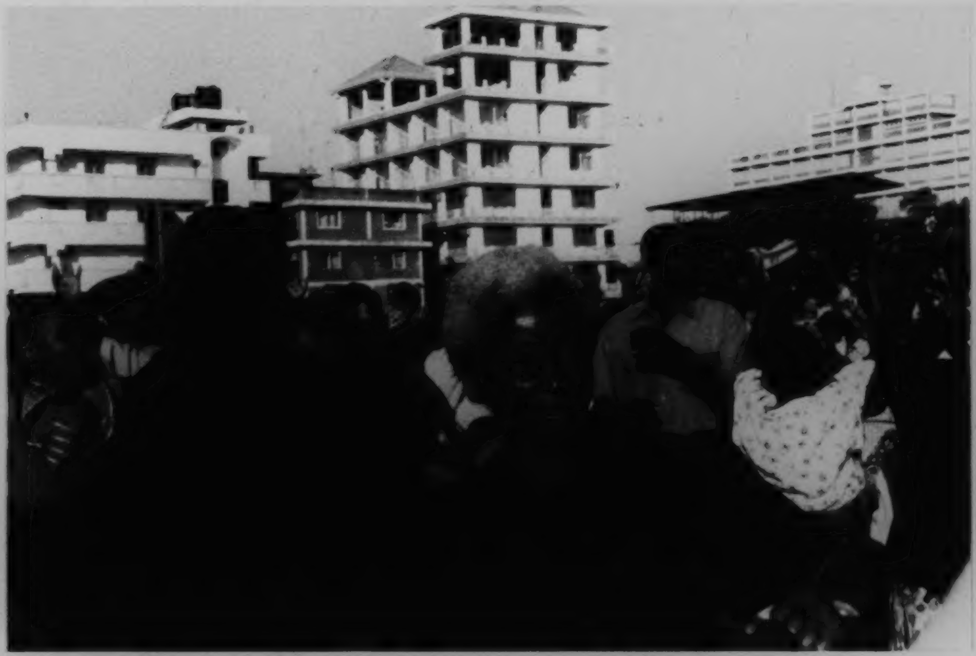
> expressed for the African Christian to express himself with his heart as he was led by God. A new era was begun. In many ways this music was the sign of a revival that had begun in 1953, passed through several denominations and which appears to be continuing today. (1985: 185)

In contrast with Western-based hymns, the performance of mapambio reflects the integrated dance-and-music style of traditional African expressive forms. As Gideon Mdegella said, "In Africa, of course, when we sing we normally move, dance. Now when you come to worshipping, we were trained to stop dancing. Now, when the Pentecostal church brought its way of worshipping we found ourselves being allowed to dance, and we felt 'Why shouldn't we dance?'" (Interview, June 24, 1997) I think that for many people, the freedom of movement associated with mapambio is associated with a sense of spiritual freedom. People such as George Njabili consistently used the word "freedom" in describing both the sensation of performing mapambio and the reasons for the genre's popularity. Figure 9 is a wonderful image of the freedom of movement and dance that I frequently witnessed during the performance of mapambio.

Figure 9

Crusade participants dance as they perform mapambio. Crusade at Mnazi Mmoja square, Dar es Salaam.

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, July 19, 1997.



Despite the popularity of mapambio among charismatic Lutherans, the genre is too deeply associated with charismatic theology to be considered appropriate for performance in Lutheran services. In Mdegella's words "mapambio have not yet been adopted into the routine service of the Lutheran church." Instead, mapambio are often performed at crusades, Bible studies, or before and after church services, choir rehearsals and competitions. Gregory Barz describes a performance of mapambio at Azania Front Lutheran Cathedral, in which the two choirs participating in a Sunday service sang a pambio antiphonally while waiting for the service to begin. As soon as the procession commencing the service began, the pambio ceased (1997: 36-42). This vignette confirms my experience with mapambio in Lutheran services: the choruses are clearly a significant part of worship for many Lutherans, while actually being paraliturgical. The word "mapambio" itself has a root meaning of "to decorate, or elaborate" (Gunderson 1991: 30), and many Lutherans told me that this refers to the role of a given pambio in "decorating" a worship service or elaborating on a certain message. Certainly in the Lutheran church, it is an appropriate definition; mapambio are not permitted as true content, but rather serve to embellish the worship experience.

Mapambio may be relegated to "decorating" Lutheran services, but they are central to events related to charismatic worship. Mapambio seem to stimulate, or at least enhance a very powerful and particular form of religious experience. I began to better understand this use of mapambio among charismatic Lutherans as I discovered more about music in American Pentecostal-charismatic churches. Delton Alford's explanation of the benefits of using choruses in Pentecostal worship services and, especially, evangelism is particularly enlightening. Although he is describing gospel choruses of the sort used in North American Pentecostal churches, he could just as easily be speaking about mapambio performance by charismatic Lutherans in Tanzania:

> There are several advantages to the occasional use of the relatively short, textually simple chorus. Usually its melody is simple and easy to sing; its text is quite clear and conceptually specific, thereby providing opportunity for molding of thought and a direct application of its message to a particular theme or place in the service. Through its brevity, simplicity, and musical attractiveness, the chorus encourages individual and congregational participation and involvement in the service. When effectively employed, it becomes a worthy vehicle for the expression of personal and sincerely felt religious emotions and feelings. (1967: 73)

Mapambio share many of the musical characteristics Alton describes; they are simple, repetitive, and "attractive," primarily because of their similarity to African popular music. Because anyone can pick up the tune to a pambio, it can be effectively used by leaders to teach or "mold" thoughts about the faith, and encourage both individual and group participation.

Charismatic Lutherans use mapambio to unify participants at various events, while simultaneously distinguishing them as members of a specific community to outsiders and "unsaved" audiences. Music even validates the uniqueness of the group; by identifying with mapambio, participants distinguish themselves from those who do not appreciate or understand the songs. Performing mapambio can give participants a sensory experience in common, thereby creating a sacred "space" in which all members, regardless of mental attitude or mood, can unite. Crusades, fellowship meetings, Bible studies, and choir rehearsals are all events in which mapambio performance is viewed as an integral and necessary element. Many people, most notably Bwana Ipiana Thom, *mwalimu* of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir, confirmed my observation that mapambio are an essential element of a successful crusade. This may be because mapambio are frequently used to focus and entertain people, and to unify members of the gathering. The first hour of a crusade, as Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose confirm, always involves music in order to draw people and "make everyone totally responsive and involved" (1996: 157). Mapambio are particularly suited to attracting and involving a crowd, because the call-and-response format is easily accessible and invites participation.

Mapambio are also used to separate and enhance different periods of ritual events. Because of the commonly held distinction between "worshipping" and "praising" mapambio, different choruses can be used to prepare and distinguish periods of praise, or prayer and meditation. For example, people regularly sing mapambio prior to praying, and again afterward; in this sense, the choruses frame the prayer experience.

One of the most significant features of mapambio is the genre's association with the experience of the Holy Spirit. I rarely witnessed a period of emotional praying, with demonstration of the spiritual gifts of tongues and prophecy, that did not involve the performance of mapambio. As Edmond Ringo told me, "You need mapambio to get the emotional praying" (Interview, July 13, 1997). Charismatic Lutherans have made an association between mapambio and "bringing down" the Holy Spirit, reflected in emotional praying, "tongues" and other demonstrations of spiritual gifts. These responses, whether inspired or learned, have come to be an expected part of mapambio performance, and lend to the perceived power of the genre.

In fact, mapambio often provide the "language" through which participants both express and understand their experience of the supernatural, making music central to the experience of religious belief. The following comment by Isaac Kileo, the chairman of the kwaya ya vijana at Msasani Lutheran Church demonstrates the typical attitude of a "born again" Lutheran toward mapambio:

> Early in the 1980s music of notes was still very much liked. When we were taught songs, I liked them very much. In the 1990s I began to change, and I was interested in mapambio, and in September of 1990 when I decided to give my life to the Lord I decided on the spot that mapambio would become my interest.[9] (Barz 1997: 269)

For such simple, transient pieces, mapambio have an incredible power to move people. The reason for this is succinctly captured by Nathan Corbitt.

In the performance of mapambio, he states, "there seems to be more emphasis on the singing of the song and what the song does in performance than on the song itself." (1985: 164) For the people with whom I sang, "what the song does" is to serve as a vehicle for experiencing God and the power of the Holy Spirit. The origin or tune of any given pambio is not nearly as important as whether it moves or touches people, or whether it has the power to "bring down" the Holy Spirit. By joining in mapambio people literally and figuratively join together to voice common concerns, to pray together, to feel a sense of community.

Endnotes

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[1] The separation of genders in this particular performance likely reflected traditional expectations of appropriate behaviour when in mourning, rather than any standard for the performance of mapambio. At every other performance of mapambio that I witnessed, all participants were grouped together. See Figure 9 for a visual example.

[2] This improvised performance does not fit easily into the hard boundaries of Western notation. Each time a verse or chorus is repeated, there are slight variations - as a result, I have interpreted certain notes and harmonies loosely, aiming to give an overall sense of the performance rather than an exact description. I have chosen to write the chorus in the treble clef - I was singing with the women and these parts are most clearly heard in the recording. However, I believe it is still accurate; men usually double the harmony an octave below the women. Notes with a line through them indicate a slide up or down. My thanks to William Kempster and Tim Shantz for assistance with the transcription.

[3] Recorded Example 1 is one exception to this rule; George Njabili introduces two verses in Lingala, the national language of Zaire. This was actually the only occasion that I heard anyone sing mapambio in a language other than Kiswahili, and I can only attribute it to George's personal cosmopolitan flair. He has lived in Zaire, so he has knowledge of Lingala and French. Also, he is the only member of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir to lead nyimbo in English. He told me that he uses other languages so as to reach more people with the gospel message. Incidentally, the Chorale Congolese, an Edmonton-based choir made up of Zairean immigrants, occasionally perform songs and choruses in Kiswahili despite the fact that few of them understand it. This use of different languages bears further research; unfortunately, I was not able to pursue it during my research period.

[4] One familiar Protestant chorus, "Alleluya," was sung to me by several people as an example of North American mapambio. In fact, the structure of this chorus is not call-and-response like other mapambio, but the phrase structure, simple melody and four-note range make it similar to mapambio.

[5] For more detail on mapambio as a form of popular music, see Chapter Six of Barz's 1997 dissertation.

[6] *Soukous* is the name commonly used to describe a variety of dance styles originating in Kinshasa, Congo (Zaire). The *Rough Guide* offers the following description: "Zairean music is renowned for the stylish intricacies of electric guitars which combine melody and rhythm in a way that is both mellow and highly charged. But creative excellence apart, soukous had practical advantages which made it an internationally viable popular music. First it was "non-tribal": it used the interethnic trading language of Lingala, a melodic tongue which has been the vehicle for some of the sweetest singing voices in Africa. The distinctive guitar style was an amalgam of influences brought to the lower Congo from the west coast of Africa and from the interior, and therefore struck a chord across the continent." (1994: 314) The style, which combines influences of the Afro-Cuban rhumba with a plucking melodic style used in playing traditional African *mbira* or *sanza* "is one musical form that has hit a nerve throughout Africa, animating dancers of all ages and social classes in a way which no other regional style, not even West African highlife, has come close to matching." (Ibid.: 313) Certainly *soukous* has influenced Tanzanian popular music over the past 30 years, including the music of dance bands (see Stephen Martin's 1980 dissertation "Music in Urban East Africa: A Study of the Development of Urban Jazz in Dar Es Salaam"), and choirs (see Chapter Six of Barz's dissertation for an argument regarding the popular nature of Tanzanian choirs).

[7] The African Inland Church is a charismatic denomination, founded by American evangelists during the beginning of this century. Given this connection, it seems entirely plausible to me that evangelists from this denomination introduced mapambio to Tanzania, but I was unable to confirm this theory.

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[8] Recordings of South African popular music, in styles such as mbaqanga, reggae, and isicathamiya are readily available and very popular in Tanzania, and Lutheran composers including Gideon Mdegella imitate South African harmonic styles in their compositions.

[9] Although this quote comes from an interview between Isaac Kileo and Gregory Barz (April 27,1994, I feel comfortable using it because, though I did not have an interview with him, I spoke with Isaac Kileo a few times and he was particularly interested in my project. I feel certain his attitude is unchanged.

Chapter Three: The Mtoni Evangelical Choir

The Mtoni Lutheran Church is located in one of the many overgrown villages that form the outlying areas of Dar es Salaam. To get to Mtoni one takes a *daladala*, the colloquial name for the hundreds of privately operated buses and vans that travel prescribed routes throughout the city. One starts at the "Posta" daladala stop at the centre of downtown, where 20 or 30 buses and mini-vans are parked haphazardly. From each, a man bellows the name of his route, "Buguruni!" "Tabata!" "Kariakoo!," competing with the other callers for volume and enthusiastically trying to convince passersby to take his bus, regardless of their desired destination. Eventually one will locate the Mtoni daladala and hope to find it nearly full; drivers wait until the vehicle is overflowing with passengers before leaving the stop. It takes about half an hour to get from Posta to Mtoni, but the trip passes relatively quickly because most of the roads are paved. The route traces the harbour before moving inland through Dar es Salaam's industrial area. After passing the fair ground, one spends the next five minutes anxiously peering out the window for landmarks; upon seeing the hand-painted sign "K.K.K.T. Mtoni" one hollers "Shusha!" ("drop") to the driver, who will immediately slam on the brakes, throwing passengers into each other and the benches in front of them. From the side of the road, one can see the roof of the church in the valley. Continuing the journey on foot, one follows a narrow dirt path that descends gradually from the main road, past a small bar on the left, and eventually into a sandy clearing encircled by small, tin-roofed houses. A group of barefoot boys play a soccer game, a man on the right tinkers with a rusty car, a couple of chickens pick at the ground, and smaller children stop their games to stare, calling out "Mzungu! Mzungu!" ("White person!") Once past the clearing, one turns to the right, wades through a shallow stream and passes a couple of fruit and candy stalls. On the left is the church, easily the largest structure in the area, made of cement blocks with a corrugated tin roof. A choir is inside the church practicing a German hymn for the upcoming choir competition. Incongruously, an electric guitar is being played nearby, and if one exits the church and walks along a narrow path toward the rear, passing vegetable gardens and outhouses, one will come upon a second choir rehearsing in the four-by-eight meter space between the back of the church and the high cement fence of the next property. This is the Mtoni Evangelical Choir.

Approximately 40 people are sitting on narrow wooden benches, listening to the *mwalimu* (teacher/leader; similar in this context to "artistic director") and repeating him as he sings portions of a new wimbo. Many of these people are younger than thirty-five, and they appear to be materially poor. Most wear simple, worn clothing, and basic plastic sandals as shoes. Two-thirds of them are women, and a few have brought babies to the rehearsal. A number of Tanzania's *makabila* (ethnic groups) are represented here; the language spoken is the one common to all: Kiswahili. The choir is undoubtedly rehearsing for an upcoming performance, perhaps a Sunday service, or a crusade. As they begin to sing their lively, entertaining music, the listener may well wonder how this group of musicians came to be here.

The history of this choir parallels the development of the charismatic movement in Tanzania. The choir was formed in 1975 by three men and their families. The three founders, Bwana Mzavo, Bwana Malekwa (both now living in other Tanzanian cities) and Philip Mapembe (the current chairman of the choir), became "born again" through some of the first open-air evangelical crusades initiated by charismatic missionaries in the 1970s. George Njabili, the current vice-chairman of the choir, told me that the founders started singing because of their common interest "in serving God by using songs... They had a talent to play guitars. They used the common radio as amplifiers and speakers. And they also had ambition to preach, telling people everywhere the 'good news'" (Here and throughout this section: Interview, July 11, 1997). At the time, they were members of Kurasini Lutheran Church, but they practiced in a school classroom rather than the church, and made an open commitment not to be bound to any particular church or denomination. As discussed in Chapter One, Lutherans who became "born again" usually chose to join charismatic churches, such as Pentecostal or Assemblies of God, or else were expelled from their home churches. The Lulu choir members were not actually expelled, but were limited to performing at crusades or charismatic denominations that allowed people to evangelize by singing about salvation.

At first, the Lulu choir had difficulty performing anywhere, because they were not accepted by most Lutheran churches due to their beliefs. Their musical style was also a detriment to acceptance. Until the 1980s, most Tanzanian choirs of any denomination did not use instruments, whereas this choir used Galletones (non-electric guitars amplified through radios). As George Njabili explained, "To the ears of many Tanzanians, it sounded like they were playing music like dances, and such... So they were rejected, actually."

The choir members began to hold their own Bible Study meetings at Kurasini Primary School, and as time went by these meetings became increasingly popular. George told me that "...even the Pentecostal churches were sending people to see the choir that uses guitars." Eventually, this crowd grew to such an extent that they decided to build a church in which to meet. I was unable to confirm this story or date the events, but according to George, the Mtoni Lutheran Church was started by the Lulu choir. Although the choir members were committed to non-denominational worship, the rules of the Christian Council of Tanzania (a national church governing body) determined that it would be a Lutheran church, because the choir members were originally part of the Kurasini Lutheran Church congregation.

Unfortunately for the choir, the Lutheran diocese immediately began to administer the church and, as George put it, "the era of having pastors who are not saved made a very big distortion" in the spiritual goals of the original members. Over the years, as new people have joined Mtoni Lutheran Church, it has grown away from its charismatic roots, and today a kwaya ya vijana that is both musically and theologically more conservative than the Lulu choir performs on most Sundays. The Lulu choir, on the other hand, is completely autonomous from the Mtoni Lutheran Church. They do not get any financial or material support form the church, nor do they perform there very often. Although many of the current choir members were introduced to the choir through attendance at the Mtoni Lutheran Church, the choir is committed to non-denominational affiliation, and at least a few members are from non-Lutheran backgrounds. I got the feeling on several occasions that the relations between choir members and the Mtoni Lutheran Church administration are somewhat strained. George explained that this was primarily due to the unwelcome attempts of the Lutheran pastors to influence the choir against performing at the services of Pentecostal and other charismatic churches.

The Mtoni Evangelical Choir sings at a different church every Sunday. During the time I spent with them we performed at several Lutheran services, as well as the Magomeni African Inland Church, a charismatic denomination. However, choir performances are not limited to Sunday services. The choir commits a great deal of time and energy to performing for crusades, smaller evangelical events, and "fellowship meetings" (non-liturgical gatherings of Christian believers), as well as their own weekly Bible study. They do not perform at mashindano, regular competitions sponsored by the Lutheran church, through which choirs (primarily kwaya ya vijana) challenge each other and vie for local and regional recognition, and sometimes financial gain. (For more information on mashindano, see Barz 1997.)

Currently, the Mtoni Evangelical Choir is made up of over 60 members, approximately two-thirds of whom regularly attend rehearsals and performances. The commitment these members make to the choir is remarkable. They willingly gather up to four nights a week for rehearsals, fellowship, and Bible study. Regular rehearsals are typically two to three hours long, and generally incorporate practice for upcoming performances, as well as learning new nyimbo (songs). New compositions are taught by rote, so the learning process can be lengthy (though not as long as it would be in a Western choir, in my experience!) In special circumstances, the chairman or other leaders of the choir may decide to add extra rehearsals; when time is tight they will literally rehearse all night long, and come back the next afternoon for more rehearsal.

Apart from these regular evening engagements, the Lulu choir frequently spends all weekend performing at services, crusades, and other events. Choir activities on one weekend in July 1997 give an example of this tight performance schedule. On Friday afternoon, the choir gathered at Azania Front Lutheran Cathedral to perform for Bishop Elinaza Sandoro and a group of pastors visiting from America. On Saturday afternoon, they met at the Mtoni church for a brief rehearsal before heading to the Kurasini district to perform at a crusade. The crusade was not over until after dark, and I would estimate that most members did not get home until at least 9:30 p.m. The following morning, they met at Mtoni at 5:00 a.m., for prayer and rehearsal before going to Ubungo Lutheran Church to perform at two services. (Transportation is difficult for the choir, as few of them have vehicles. Sometimes the choir rents a bus, but members often have to take public transport. Because of the nature of public transport in Dar es Salaam, this can mean leaving a few hours early to get to Sunday morning services on the other side of the city!) After the afternoon off, the choir reconvened at 7:00 p.m. to perform again, this time as the feature choir at a fellowship meeting at the Dar es Salaam School of Accountancy. Three hours later, I could hardly keep my eyes open as we parted, promising to see each other at rehearsal the following evening.

Figure 10

The Mtoni Evangelical Choir performs a wimbo at the Dar es Salaam School of Accountancy, Dar es Salaam.

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, July 13, 1997.

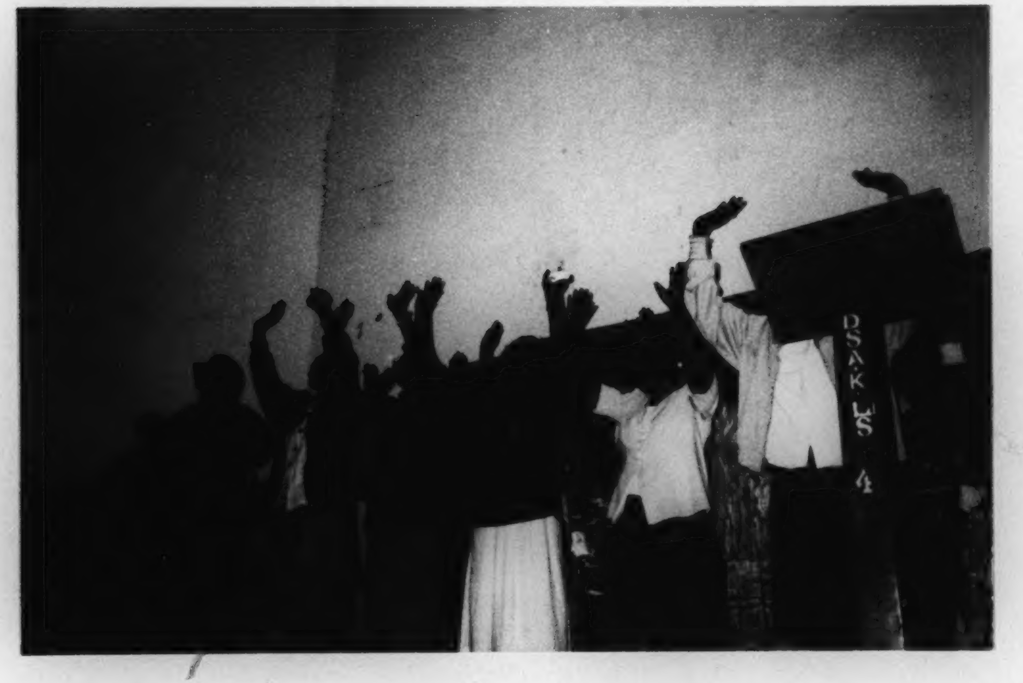


Figure 11

George Njabili and Happy share a microphone at the Dar es Salaam School of Accountancy, Dar es Salaam.

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, July 13, 1997.

Figure 12

Members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir dance as they exit the stage at the Dar es Salaam School of Accountancy, Dar es Salaam.

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, July 13, 1997.

The choir operates very democratically. Members are encouraged to perform at as many of the choir's engagements as possible, but no one is dismissed for lack of involvement. In fact, many people remain "members" even after they have moved away from Dar es Salaam, and perform with the choir whenever they are in town. In that sense, the choir functions very much like an extended family. Indeed, the second generation of the founding families continue to perform with the choir; Ingia Malekwa, the twentysomething daughter of one of the founders, was one of my closer friends in the choir.

An elaborate social organization provides a division of labour in the choir that ensures no one person has too much responsibility. According to Barz, this structure is typical of most Lutheran choirs, and is suggestive of the administrative structure of the post-Independence socialist government of Tanzania (1997: 307). Policies of the socialist government included the dissemination of Kiswahili as a national language among the 120 ethnic groups within the country, and education for all. Julius Nyerere, first president of Tanzania, wrote many treatises on social policy and direction of the socialist government. Under his leadership, the Tanzanian government adopted a policy of *Ujamaa*, under the Arusha Declaration of 1967. This policy "...was centered around the belief of self-reliance, and the ownership of production by the so-called Tanzanian 'peasants' and workers" (Barz 1997: 134). The Marxist basis for this policy led to the promotion of equality and community as strong social values, which was disseminated through state education. These values are represented in the organization and operation of choirs such as the Mtoni Evangelical Choir. A list of the positions in the Mtoni Evangelical Choir administration, and the names of the administrators in 1997 is given below:

Chairman: Philip Mapembe
Vice-Chairman: George Njabili
Secretary: Peter Barhe
Vice-Secretary: Thadeo Ipihi
Treasurer: Mrs. Wise Mfinanga
Vice-Treasurer: Mrs. Tusikile Kolila
Mwalimu: Ipiana Thom
Assistant Mwalimu: Edamia Kahemela
Chairman for Evanglism: Emmanual Shusha
Music Chairman: Robert Sanyagalo

The performance repertoire of the choir consists of nyimbo and mapambio. Unlike some Lutheran choirs, they do not perform Western-based hymns or nyimbo based on the music traditions of Tanzanian makabila (ethnic groups). Rather, all music performed by the choir imitate African popular music forms. Given the history of the choir, I would assert that this has been a key characteristic of the choir's repertoire since its inception.

This popular element is primarily evident in the instrumentation and musical style. Two electric guitars and a CASIO keyboard are used to provide rhythmic and harmonic accompaniment at every performance of the choir. The guitarists frequently use a picking style associated with popular forms such as soukous, the Central African dance music made famous by such artists as

Papa Wemba and Kanda Bongo Man.[1] The keyboard is used to provide additional melody and harmony, as well as rhythmic accompaniment. Most of the Lutheran choirs I saw used keyboards for rhythm, rather than drums or other percussion instruments. The keyboard used by the Lulu choir in 1997 had a selection of basic rhythmic patterns representing various popular styles, such as rock, jazz, conga, and bossanova.

An excellent example of the choir's repertoire is their signature song, "Yesu Nipeleke" (Jesus, Take Me), from which they get the nickname, "Lulu." This song was written by Bwana Malekwa, a founding member, while he was studying at a university in the United States.[2] The lyrics are printed below, in Kiswahili with English translation.

	Verse One:
Yesu nipeleke, kule kwa babe nikaisha naye. Kule mbinguni kwenye mji wa lulu milango na dhahabu.	Jesus, take me to the Father, to stay with Him. There in heaven, in the city of pearls with gates of gold.
	Chorus:
Oh lulu, oh lulu iko mbinguni. Kweli ndani ya Yesu kuwa raha ya ajabu isiyo na mwisho, kweli jamani.	Oh pearls, oh pearls are in heaven. Surely in Jesus there is wonderful happiness without end.
	Verse Two:
Yesu nakuomba, nipe ngavu nikutumikie, humu ulimwenguni kabla siku zangu kazijaisha.	Jesus, I pray, give me strength to serve you here in this world, before my days are finished. *Translation: Yona Ringo*

Recorded Example 6: "*Yesu Nipeleke*" (Jesus, Take Me), Mtoni Evangelical Choir. Recorded on *Yesu Nipeleke (Lulu) Volume 1: Mtoni Evangelical Choir (Lulu)*, no date.

Most nyimbo are written by the mwalimu of the choir, Ipiana Thom. Bwana Thom, originally Moravian, joined the choir in 1979 and took on the position of mwalimu in 1981 when the previous mwalimu left. Today he leads the rehearsals of the choir, and plays lead guitar at most performances. Also, his wife Jane and their two small children perform regularly with the choir.

Besides being an excellent guitarist, Bwana Thom is recognized by the other choir members as having a special gift for composition. He is not familiar with Western music notation, but composes, plays, and teaches his songs "by ear." He writes lyrics based on biblical texts or personal experience and sets them to melodies, later adding four-part harmony with the choir. I witnessed the *walimu* (pl.) of several other choirs demonstrate very autocratic approaches to leadership; by comparison, Bwana Thom leads the Lulu choir with quiet equanimity. He is open to musical and textual suggestions from choir members at all stages of the composition process, and he is also supportive of the compositional efforts of others in the choir. At least two other members compose for the choir: Edamia Kahemela, the assistant mwalimu, and George Njabili, the vice-chairman. During my tenure with the choir, we regularly performed nyimbo by each of these three composers;

likewise, the most current cassette recording features at least one wimbo by each. No credit is given to individual composers on the choir's recordings or in public. Rather, it seems that any song, once taught to the choir becomes the property of the choir as a whole.[3]

As a result, all of the choir's music shares a vibrant beat and similar structural and harmonic style. This particular flavour of the choir's music is apparently very popular among listeners in Dar es Salaam and other centres in East Africa. During my tenure with the choir, I saw several illustrations of its popularity. At one fellowship meeting, the guest speaker, a visiting evangelist from Kenya, was thrilled to realize that the Lulu choir was performing. He told me that the choir is well-known in Nairobi through the distribution of their cassette recordings.[4] Even among the Roman Catholic members of my host family, recordings of the Lulu choir were preferred above all my cassettes. Despite her disapproval of their religious convictions, I often heard Zawadi say "Kwaya vizuri!" ("Great choir!), or simply, "Wanaimba." ("They sing.")

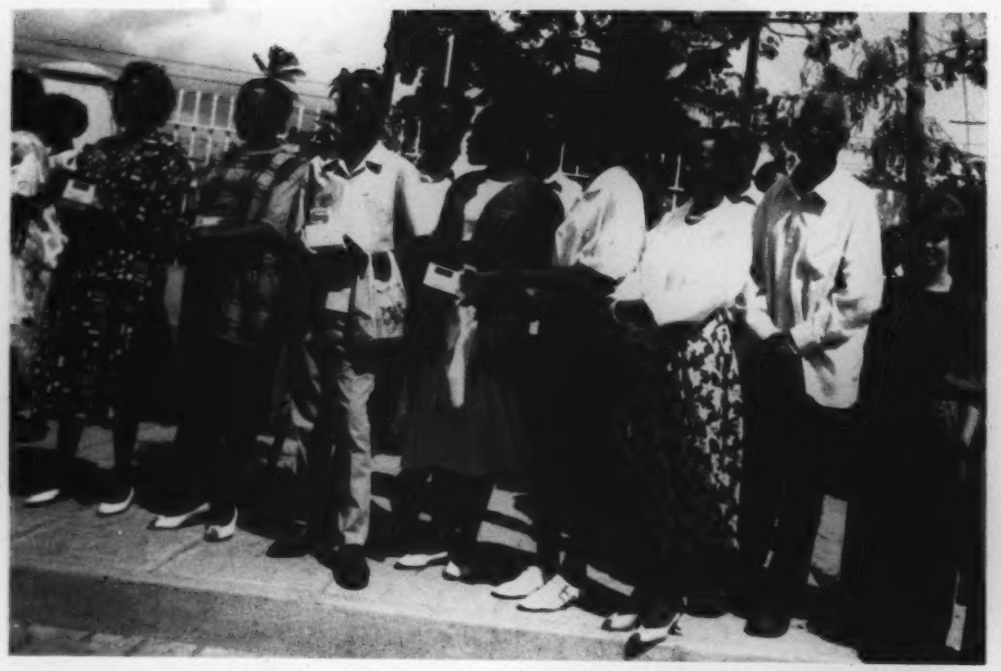
The Mtoni Evangelical Choir, like other Lutheran choirs in Dar es Salaam, endeavors to publicize itself, and more importantly its message of salvation, throughout East Africa. One of the most effective methods for choirs to publicize and document themselves is through cassette recordings. (See Barz 1997: Chapter Six for a discussion of Lutheran choirs and the recording industry in Tanzania.) The Lulu choir has produced six cassettes over the past few years, each with eight to ten of their most recent and popular nyimbo. (Like other Lutheran choirs in Dar es Salaam, the Lulu choir does not record mapambio.) Choir members try to sell cassettes after every performance. This keeps the message and the name of the choir in common use, and is also an important method of fundraising for costumes, tours, and the upkeep and acquisition of instruments. Figure 13 shows members of the choir holding boxes of cassettes and waiting to sell them after performing at Msasani Lutheran Church.

As a result of the excellent musical standards of the group and the popularity of its cassettes, the Lulu choir is in high demand among evangelical circles in Dar es Salaam. The choir usually performs at one or two crusades per week, and sometimes as many as four or five. Over the years, the choir has also grown to be more accepted by Lutheran authorities and is now highly regarded within the diocese of Dar es Salaam. For example, Bishop Sandoro specifically chose the Lulu choir from among the many Lutheran choirs in the city to perform at a send-off banquet for a group of visiting North Americans.

Figure 13

Members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir wait to sell cassettes outside Msasani Lutheran Church.

Photographed by Valerie Warke, July 20, 1997.



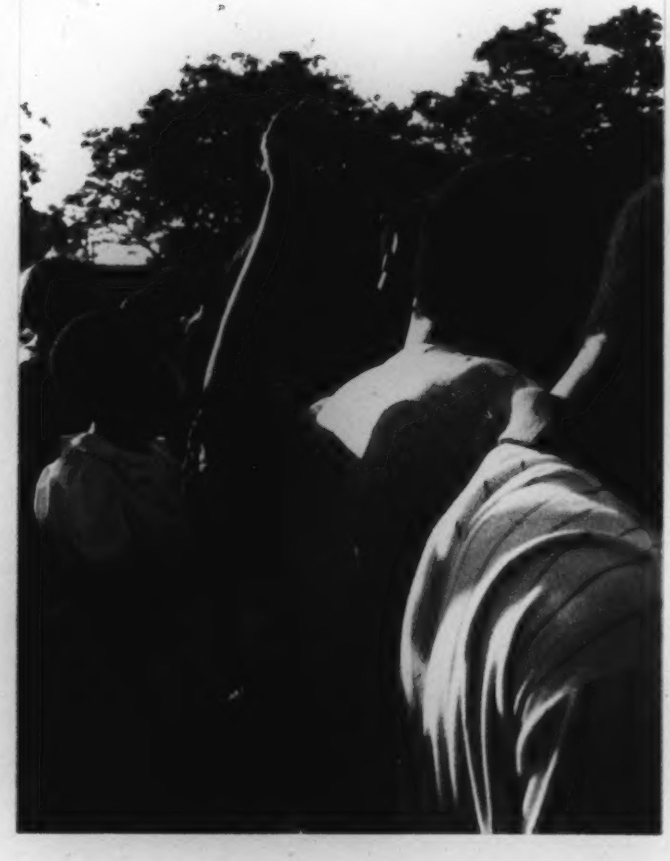
Despite its busy schedule, the Lulu choir endeavors to perform at every evangelical event to which it is invited. Evangelism and matters of faith are of primary importance to the choir, and crusades are undoubtedly the most important vehicle through which the choir evangelizes. The choir is usually invited to a crusade by the host church, along with one or two other choirs. Each choir performs two or three nyimbo while the audience gathers. Usually, members of the Lulu choir (especially the instrumentalists and George Njabili as song leader) also lead some mapambio during the first section of the crusade. Besides drawing a crowd, this music invariably incites a certain level of excitement and participation among the audience members. I was always impressed by the response of audiences to the music of the Lulu choir; at one particular performance, I secretly felt like a rock star as I looked from the stage at a crowd of at least 2,000 people, screaming and dancing to the music.

During the sermon and prayers, most of the Lulu choir members listen from the audience, but the instrumentalists often remain on stage, providing quiet accompaniment to prayers and/or hymns requested by the speaker. After the sermon and prayer, there is an altar call, during which members of the audience come forward to speak a prayer of salvation, or to request healing. Usually choir members join in a prayer for these people or sing hymns softly with the audience until the crusade concludes with more mapambio led by the instrumentalists on the stage.

Figure 14

A woman prays after performing mapambio led by the Mtoni Evangelical Choir. Crusade at Mnazi Mmoja square, Dar es Salaam.

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, July 19, 1997.



Through performances at crusades and other events, the Lulu choir regularly witnesses the healing and salvation of audience members. One woman testified that upon hearing the Lulu choir perform at the Magomeni African Inland Church (a service in which I participated), she was healed of an unnamed ailment. Members of the choir believe that the Holy Spirit works through their music, influencing the composition of nyimbo, and empowering the performances of mapambio. Both Bwana Thom and George Njabili believe that their compositions are directly inspired by the Holy Spirit. They each told me that when they compose, they feel they are mere vehicles through which the Spirit moves. George believes that this is what makes the songs of the Lulu choir so popular and powerful. "Now, people ask our choir what is different. It's the anointing of the songs" (Interview, July 19, 1997).

Interestingly, George told me that despite the commitment of the Lulu choir to evangelism, not all the members of the choir itself are "saved." Recognizing that people have become "born again" through singing in the choir, however, choir leaders officially welcome everybody. "We don't inquire. We tell them the salvation" (Interview, July 19, 1997). In fact, I felt that there was a certain degree of religious, or moral expectations within the community of the choir. There certainly seems to be strong pressure on members to be "born again," or at least conduct themselves in that manner. At one rehearsal, I witnessed some choir executives reprimanding one or more unnamed members for "false living," and damaging the integrity of the choir. Following this, there was an extended period of prayer in which all the choir members prayed for the salvation of these souls.

Generally, the clear majority of the members share the charismatic faith of the founding families. Every rehearsal or performance of any kind begins with a period of mapambio and prayer, which always includes speaking in tongues, by at least a few members, and open weeping among many of the women. Bible studies and fellowships are other venues through which "gifts of the Spirit" such as prophesy, knowledge, tongues, and healing are expressed. Musical performances of the choir at events such as these are significantly different than performances of nyimbo at crusades or church services.

Whereas nyimbo are rehearsed with an eye toward constant improvement and "ideal" performances, mapambio are unrehearsed, and performed spontaneously. This in no way effects the power of the performance, however; mapambio tend to inspire particularly strong emotional responses from performers, in the choir and audience alike. The Lulu choir performs mapambio in a variety of contexts; often someone will start a pambio on a bus ride to a crusade, at Bible studies, or before rehearsals, for vocal and spiritual preparations. As George Njabili told me, mapambio are an important element of the evangelical efforts of the choir, but they are also used to strengthen and encourage the faith of choir members. For George, mapambio are functional; they are necessary in effective preparation and ministry of the choir. "Some pambios are to strengthen the Christians to stand firm because the Devil is after you, for example. Sometimes there are pambios that encourage them to keep in the same way. Some pambios do... praise the way... we have chosen a good way. Jesus is the only way, you see? There are some pambios of exalting, some that you are really lifting the Lord up, and you have known His mission to save you" (Interview, July 19, 1997).

In order to present a closer picture of how George and other choir members use mapambio, I have included a recording of a weekly fellowship meeting. On this particular Wednesday afternoon, there were about fifteen people in attendance, and, surprisingly, no instrumentalists. We sat on benches outside the church, because the Mtoni kwaya ya vijana was rehearsing inside the building. The fellowship meeting involved the singing of a few mapambio, followed by a short sermon by Neema, a female member of the choir, followed by more singing and prayer. In the recording, one can hear the seamless connection between song and prayer, typical at many charismatic events, as well as some weeping and "tongues" (distinguishable from Kiswahili by the rapid repetition of syllables).

Recorded Example 7: Mtoni Evangelical Choir fellowship meeting. Mtoni Lutheran Church, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Recorded by Kathleen Warke, July 16, 1997.

Testimonies of conversion or salvation are an important element of charismatic experience, and can also be used as a form of introduction to strangers such as myself; as a result, several choir members told me how they had become saved. I have chosen to reproduce George Njabili's conversion testimony here in order to present a more personal version of the charismatic experience, and one specific to the choir. Interestingly George's story shares many characteristics with the conversion narratives of Appalachian Baptists described by Jeff Todd Titon in *Powerhouse for God*.

> As a genre, these conversion narratives fell into a pattern; that is, they had a similarity of setting, plot, and character. At its most basic, the plot is problem, struggle, and victory - or lack and lack liquidated - the structure that Vladimir Propp delineated in the Russian fairy tale and that folklorists have found in heroic narratives the world over. An outsider might conclude that these conversion narratives portray the narrator's struggle and triumph. But from the church member's point of view, the conversion story cannot be understood as a struggle in which the "I" is heroic and triumphant. The "I" is the battleground between God and Satan. God is the hero: the "I" is rescued and transformed. (1988: 385)

George told me his conversion testimony during a lunch break from his job as a bank teller. The questions that I posited during the interview are presented in italics.

> Myself, I am saved. I was doing business... I started working only March this year. I was doing business... smuggling and doing stuff, you see. You know, life is very tough in Tanzania. So, moving from here to Zaire, Zaire to Zambia... There are some cosmetics which are... were banned, now you find a way to import, you know. But Jesus. To me, it happened like this.
>
> I was at Morogoro at a certain church services. There were a man from Uganda who was a leader. He had Word of

Knowledge, a Holy Spirit gift that is written in the Bible. There are nine of them there. He said, "There is" - you know I I I loved music, but not God. "There is a person here" - you see by then I was doing my advanced diploma in Morogoro. There is an institute there. He said "There is a person. He is at a higher institution. God has not given me a name, but he has given me a touch. So, anybody that is from a higher institution. While he... it's not seen, you see... then they passed, and I said "OK, let me pass." There were a lot of others passing by because in Morogoro there is a university. Then I said, "OK, others are passing, so let me go." Then when I passed - there were still several behind me - he said, "It is you. God says you have been mixing Him for a long time." (*What is mixing?*) Mixing means doing Godly things doing other things, being false for quite a long time. By then I was singing in a choir, and if I stand to preach some people were very much interested. I even had people turn to be Christian through me, but by then I was not saved. I was not committed. I had my religion- my parents are the elders of a church- but it came like that. (*So how did you feel?*) Oh, so excited, it was so frightening you see. I was ashamed, because the members of the church knew me, know that I am a good person. Because by then when they came to minister at our college I was singing among the choir members.

Then he said, "God has got something to tell you. If you will turn to Him, there shall pass three periods." I didn't really understand what he meant by three periods. "Three periods. If you will be really concentrating on His word, you shall be given a gift." He didn't tell me the other side, if I did not follow Him. And then, he went off. Then, after the session I went to the pastor and asked about it. He said, "It's OK. I cannot argue with it." I said, "What are the meanings of the periods?" He said, "It might be three months, three years, three weeks, I don't know. Just keep on with what you are instructed to do." But when I started praying in my room- I was drinking alcohol. A good drinker, by then. But that thirst disappeared when I started praying. You see, I was to go out, but I said OK let me just pray before getting ready. I spent three hours praying, and I felt it was a very short time, you see. Just to see that it was three in the morning, Oh! Then I found myself that... if I wanted to speak something bad, I would feel pain. Then I would remember that He is there. So... I started going to fellowship meetings and other Christian unions.

Exactly- counting the days- exactly on the 90th day, oh, things were very good. I was in prayers - you know, myself I was

> very inquisitive. How do these guys speak in tongues? How? But, it happened to me that day. (*What year was this?*) 1993. I was praying, praying as usual, using very common language. Oh, I felt something increasing the speed. My... my brain knew that this was strange. Let me stop it. But you are filled with speaking, speaking, speaking. You intend to say "Oh God, bless me, heal me" but it comes out not that. And it is not easily stopped. And that... oh, it comforts you very much. Very much. Like somebody flying, you know. So very good. And you know, after seeing this is when I remembered to look in my diary and it had been exactly three months.

As a result of this experience, George dedicated his life to evangelism. He joined the Mtoni Evangelical Choir in 1995, drawn particularly to their music, and their commitment to non-denominational worship. He is now at the forefront of the evangelical activities of the choir, frequently singing solos, leading prayers and addressing the audience at crusades and other events. Although he is not the mwalimu, his distinctive voice, expansive girth, and demonstrative commitment to Christian faith and evangelism earn George a certain respect from other members.

George, like other members of the Lulu choir, typifies the stereotype of charismatic believers held by many Tanzanians, as described in Chapter One. This stereotype of the little-educated, poverty-stricken individual seeking answers to deep emotional needs matches the experience of many of the members of the choir. The Mtoni Lutheran Church is located in a very poor area of Dar es Salaam, and most choir members are materially poor. Many live in one-room homes, without plumbing or electricity. Most have few articles of clothing, and many of the women keep their hair very short, thus saving expenses incurred in braiding and styling. Generally, there is not a high level of education among the members; many are from families that can afford to send only one or two children beyond primary school. All but a few of the female members are based at home, and many men are self-employed, or struggle to find employment.

Despite this, the members of this choir are anything but emotionally and psychologically desperate or weak. As a group, Lulu choir members are friendly and forthright, and actively work together to achieve personal, as well as fundraising and recording goals. I first heard the Mtoni Evangelical Choir perform at a Sunday service soon after I arrived in Dar es Salaam, and Zawadi and I were both immediately struck by the "personality" of the choir, evident in the confident professionalism of their performance and the friendly warmth of the members. When I met George and Bwana Thom after the service, they heartily welcomed us both to the choir. While many other *walimu* (pl. mwalimu) invited me to attend rehearsals (usually demanding that I offer suggestions for improvement), Bwana Thom and the Lulu choir accepted me as an apprentice member, allowing me to access and appreciate their music as a true participant, rather than as a Western "expert."[5] They were also excellent hosts, and I remember fondly many meals shared and hands held during prayer and song.

Endnotes

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[1] See Note 4, Chapter Two, for more information on Central African popular music.

[2] The fact that Bwana Malekwa studied in the United States should not give an exaggerated view of the opportunities available to most of the choir members. In fact, very few of them go to university at all, let alone across the world.

[3] George Njabili confided in me that he was sorry he had taught his wimbo "Around the Corner" to the choir, as he would be unable to record it on the solo recording he was working on in 1997. When I questioned whether he could record the same piece again, he simply shook his head and said that the choir would not understand.

[4] Recordings of Tanzanians Christian choirs have been available in Kenya since the early 1980s at the latest. A survey of Swahili cassettes in Nairobi in 1985 determined that "by far the favourite Christian singing group is the Mwanza Town Choir." (Neimeyer 1985: 37). Mwanza is a Tanzanian centre, located on the southern shore of Lake Victoria.

[5] I can see two reasons for the choir's willingness to take me on as a member. First of all, the ensemble is well established in Dar es Salaam and popular even in neighbouring countries. Therefore, they have no need for "expert" opinions from an outsider. Secondly, Bwana Thom is recognized as having the spiritual gift of discernment: he can look at an individual and know his or her motivations and/or agenda. I like to think that he knew the choir could trust me.

Chapter Four: Mapambio and Empowerment

Thus far, I have portrayed the performance of mapambio as a significant element in the social, musical, and religious experience and expression of charismatic Lutherans in Tanzania. I have focused on the history, beliefs, and behaviour of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir, as witnessed from the perspective of a situated observer. In this final chapter, I hope to approach an understanding of why mapambio are so significant for these Tanzanians.

Unfortunately, like other researchers before me, the depth of my experience was limited by forces beyond my control. Thankfully I did not have to deal with anything as catastrophic as civil war (see Keil 1979); rather, I was betrayed by my own body. It was Dr. Karim of the Mombasa Hospital who first told me that due to the high levels of Mefloquine in my body and the risks of re-contracting malaria, I would have to return to Canada immediately. I remember him standing in the pale light, my body trembling violently on the narrow mattress. "Why can't you study music in Australia?" he asked me, attempting to lighten the implications of his news. It was clear that I had no choice, and within a week I was home, beginning cycles of sedatives, physical therapy, alternative medicine, and counseling to combat the effects of Mefloquine on my nervous system and psyche. When I was finally able to return to my thesis 14 months later, mapambio seemed as distant to me as the carefree young woman who had so optimistically ventured across the world to learn about them.

Given the abrupt and painful end to my research, I have struggled throughout the process of writing this thesis. During my brief research period, there were limits to what I could see, and now, over two years later, I am unable to make firm assertions about the many varied motivations and experiences of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir. On the other hand, this spacial and temporal "distancing" has afforded me a certain perspective on the research period, through which I can isolate several ideas that bear further examination. Therefore, I will use this chapter to examine some of the issues arising from my perspective on mapambio and the experience of those who perform them. Ultimately, I will draw connections between the musical and religious behaviour of charismatic Lutherans, as I experienced it, and issues of agency and empowerment, as manifested through the affirmation of social identity and community, and through spiritual fulfillment.

I have chosen to focus this discussion on one particular performance of mapambio, in order to better situate my ideas in lived experience and practice. The event in question was an evangelical crusade held on Saturday, July 12, 1997, at which I performed with the Mtoni Evangelical Choir. I might have chosen several other performance contexts, such as fellowship meetings, rehearsals, or Bible studies. However, the public and evangelical nature of crusades seems to inspire heightened emotions and more impassioned performances of mapambio than other situations. This particular crusade was sponsored by an Assemblies of God congregation and held in the Kurasini district of Dar es Salaam. The following description of the event is based on an excerpt from my field journal.

Zawadi and I have made it to Mtoni church in less than an hour, despite being forced off of one daladala at Temeke and having to argue with the driver to transfer us to one going to Mtoni for free! We greet some of the other choir members and then board the choir's rented bus and travel some 30 minutes to the site of the "Gospel Revival Centre" in the Kurasini area of Dar es Salaam. It is an open field, mostly dirt, with a low wooden stage and a tall pole mounted with four loud speakers. George comments that the organizers have cleared the garbage from the field to make it more attractive. Athough it is after 4:00 p.m. the sun is fierce and George wants me to sit down in the shade - it has been less than two weeks since my bout with malaria. However, I am sensitive to being regarded as "different" from the other choir members, so I refuse. He laughs. Only wazungu *(white people) are crazy enough to stay in the sun on a hot day. Eventually, Zawadi and I move to a patch of shade behind the parked bus, where several women from the choir are already sheltering themselves.*

After the instrumentalists arrange extension cords and set up the instruments, they call us to the stage and start with a pambio. The instrumentalists from the Mtoni choir accompany the pambio, which is led by a *member of the Assemblies of God church hosting the crusade. We perform a few mapambio, and then the Mtoni choir performs two or three wimbo. I enjoy performing with the choir- I have noticed I'm not the only member who doesn't know all of the words or want to stand in the front row. I realize how natural it feels to dance and sing, even though the language and tunes and motions are unfamiliar.*

After our performance, Zawadi and I move well back from the stage, and sit on a little rise in the dirt. We watch two other choirs perform a couple of wimbo each. George takes over the microphone and leads some spoken responsive chants to build enthusiasm with the audience.

Recorded Example 8: Responsive Speaking. George Njabili, leader. Evangelical crusade, Kurasini District, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Recorded by Kathleen Warke, July 12, 1997.

George Njabili	Children	English Translation
Basi ni siku njema tena ya kumwabudu Mungu na kumwadhimisha na kumwelewa. Watoto peke yenu. Yesu, Yesu, Yesu, Yesu		Today is another good day to worship God, to praise Him, and to know Him. Childen first. Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus
	Yesu	Jesus
Jina lake likitajwa...		The mere mention of His name...
	Yesu	Jesus
na mapepo yatoweka...		makes demons vanish...

	Yesu	Jesus
na majini yanakwama. Alelu...		and lends genies powerless.
	yaaah!	
Wote kwa pamoja.		Now, all of you.

A crowd of about 100 people gather, spread out over the wide area. It's difficult to tell whether they come from the church, or if they are bystanders drawn by the music. More than half of the audience are women, and most are dressed in kangas rather than more expensive "Western" clothes, suggesting a lower income neighbourhood. Those grouped nearest the stage seem mostly born-again. They sing and dance enthusiastically, and cheer loudly for the choirs.

I am surprised when a man from the host congregation picks up the microphone and starts speaking in English, which is translated into Kiswahili by another Tanzanian on the stage. He introduces the preacher - Betty Ford, an African-American woman who is on a preaching tour of Tanzania. A white woman accompanies her with a video camera, and both of them are dressed in West African "tourist" clothing - loose, tie-dyed cotton gowns with matching head scarves. I take this to mean that they have travelled throughout the continent on their mission tour. In many ways, Betty Ford matches the image I, and probably many other North Americans, have of the typical Southern fundamentalist; she shouts and waves her arms, and uses a fine rhetorical skill to make the threat of hell and eternal damnation seem immediate. "HELL! There's no hiding-place down there. There's no hiding-place. I went to the Rock to hide my face, and the

Rock cried out 'NO HIDING PLACE!' Now, I'm not allowed to call you a fool! I'M NOT ALLOWED TO CALL YOU A FOOL! But the Bible says that you are a FOOL if you do not come to Jesus!" The Tanzanian translator beside her does so well at matching her phenomenal volume that I start to flinch from the noise, but notice that Zawadi and George seem unperturbed. The audience remains still throughout the lengthy sermon, and others continue to gather around the outskirts of the field. After Betty Ford has finished her message of salvation, she says a few prayers, along with a few local church leaders. Eventually the entire audience, now swelled to 200 or so, are called forward to the stage. Two or three people move to the front to receive prayer for healing and/or salvation.

After the prayers, the Mtoni Evangelical Choir instrumentalists and George Njabili lead more mapambio, and the audience begins to sing and dance. The music is lively, and people sing loudly and dance energetically. Zawadi, the stern Catholic, suddenly announces "These people look like they are dancing in a bar!" I nod at her, as we both continue to dance. The crowd continues to celebrate until dark overtakes us.

Figure 15

A feature choir performs at the Kurasini crusade, Dar es Salaam.

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, July 12, 1997

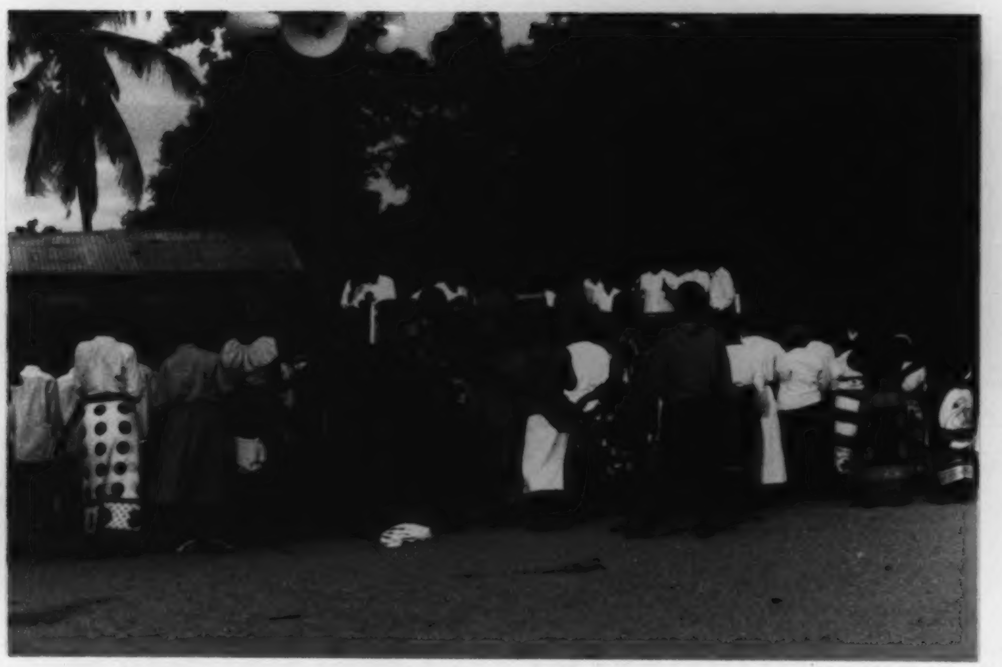
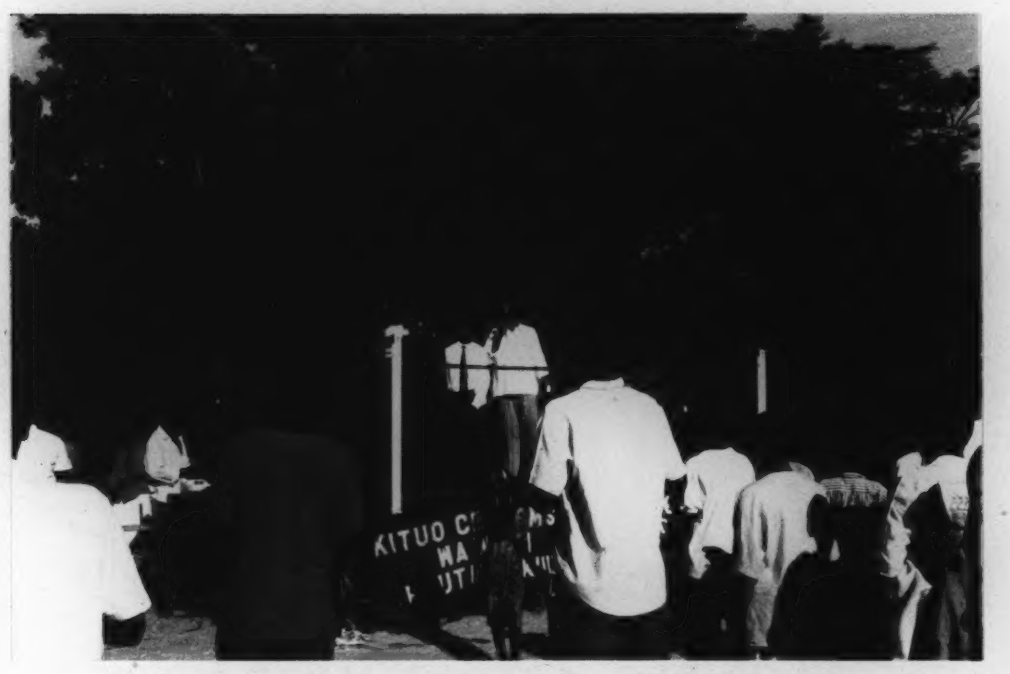


Figure 16

Members of a feature choir lead mapambio at the Kurasini crusade, Dar es Salaam.

Photograph by Kathleen Warke, July 12, 1997



Recorded Example 9: Selected mapambio. George Njabili, song leader. Evangelical crusade, Kurasini District, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Recorded by Kathleen Warke, July 12, 1997.

George Njabili	Participants	English Translation
Basi tutaimba, pambio linasema		Now we shall sing and the pambio is:
Bwana ee Bwana, Bwana ee Bwana, Bwana ee Bwana, Hakuna mwingine kama wewe		Lord, oh Lord Lord, oh Lord Lord, oh Lord There is none like you.
[Repetitions]		
	Bwana yu Bwana, Bwana yu Bwana, Bwana yu Bwana Hakuna mwingine kama wewe	Lord is Lord, Lord is Lord, Lord is Lord. There is none like you.
Bwana u Bwana Bwana u Bwana Bwana u Bwana Hakuna mwingine kama wewe		Lord, you're Lord Lord, you're Lord Lord, you're Lord There is none like you.
[Repetitions]		
Haya, Haya, Imba, imba, imba		Haya, Haya, Sing, sing, sing
	Imba	Sing
Yesu ni rafiki yangu, nami nitaimba		Jesus is my friend, so I have to sing
	Imba	Sing
Yesu ni rafiki yangu, nami nitacheza		Jesus is my friend, so I have to dance
	Cheza	Dance
Yesu ni rafiki yangu, nami nitaruka		Jesus is my friend, so I have to jump
	Ruka	Jump
Ruka mama ruka		Jump, okay, jump
	Ruka	Jump

Aleluya		
Pale Kalivari yote amekwisha		At Calvary, everything was completed
	Pale Kalivari yote amekwisha	At Calvary, everything was completed
Pale Kalivari wokuvu tumepata		At Calvary, our salvation emanated
	[Repeat]	
Pale Kalivari ndo maana tunacheza		Because of Calvary, we are now dancing for joy
	[Repeat]	
Imba, imba, imba		Sing, sing, sing
	Imba	Sing
Yesu ni rafiki yangu nami nitaimba		Jesus is my friend, so I have to sing
	Imba	Sing
Haya, haya mesha, mesha mbili; zunguka, zunguka Aleluyah.		Haya, haya [unknown] Go round and round Alleluia
Ooh, mama telemuka Telemuka Aleluyah		Okay, now dance to the floor, to the floor Alleluia
Aleluya		
Amenishusha... Yesu		He brought me down... Jesus
Amenifanya wake		He has made me His
Aleluya		Alleluia

Discussion of Event

During the sermon at the Kurasini crusade, I looked around me and noted signs of poverty all around me: the garbage strewn in corners of the dirt field, ragged clothing hung on a clothes line near crowded cement houses across the field, an unattended toddler defecating in the grass. I could see no private vehicles bouncing along the broken roads, no gardens or livestock thriving on this sandy soil, and nobody wearing expensive clothes or hairstyles. I noted again how, for the most part, members of the Lulu choir shared this reality with the audience. I think of Mama Angel Mwamkemwa and other members wearing the same clothes nearly every day; of Deo and Tusekile Kolila, with baby Michael, in their tiny one-room home; of Happy, caring for the illegitimate mulatto children of her relative, a prostitute.

Despite these signs of poverty and stress, the crusade participants demonstrated an experience of agency and empowerment. I was struck by the joyous contenances of the participants, and the sense of purpose and confidence evident in their movements and voices. For these charismatics, the dirt field was transformed into an arena in which they could connect directly with God, within a community of believers and before an audience of non-believers. From my perspective, this experience is empowering on several levels: through the expression of a shared social identity; the affirmation of community; and the experience of deep spiritual fulfillment. I will draw out issues surrounding the empowering elements of performance below.

Identity

Over the past century, there has been a massive transformation of Tanzanian society due to industrialization and labour migration from rural to urban centres. For many Tanzanians, this transformation has resulted in an experience of upheaval and dislocation. Questions of identity that began with the onset of colonialism have continued today in the face of escalating political, economic, and social disintegration. This experience is intensified in the pluralized, multi-ethnic world of urban centres. As described in Chapter One, Dar es Salaam is the largest city in Tanzania, and the destination for many people from rural areas of the country. The population of the city represents many, if not all of the 120 makabila (ethnic groups) in the country, a fact which was confirmed for me almost daily; many of the people I met identified themselves first by their kabila, or told me of their "home" in rural Tanzania where extended family remained. Because of the relatively low rate of employment in Dar es Salaam, and migratory patterns of its inhabitants, the population remains constantly in flux. The members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir itself are representative of this trend; during the short time I was there, some members left the choir for extended visits with family in rural areas, while other, former members suddenly arrived back in Dar es Salaam after lengthy absences.

For these residents of Dar es Salaam, for whom the experience of home and community is altered and sometimes lost entirely, the need to feel a sense of place and of strong social identity is strong. Scholars agree that social identity is flexible and multiply-referenced. Therefore, for those who have undergone significant social change, identities can be conflicting. Many people resolve a sense of conflicting identity through social membership in communities which are similar in some important way (Moore 1994: 130). For many, religious affiliation or participation in religious communities can help address issues of identity.

Strong social identity is recognized as a particularly significant feature of charismatic Christianity. Brouwer, Gifford and Rose state that joining a charismatic community allows individuals "to forge new notions of the self – 'for in Christ, the old man is made new'" (1996: 181). This confirmation of identity is further confirmed because of the values of the community:

> Self-discipline and limited self-government are stressed; within the context of the congregation people may shed their passivity and entertain goals and ambitions of strength, courage, leadership, and responsibility. One does not need years of training in a seminary to take on a leadership position; instead, one can rise to authority and be accepted and respected on the basis of one's talents, abilities, charisma, and achievements." (Ibid.: 182)

Many non-charismatic Tanzanians confirmed that this validation of identity is a major influence in its popularity among the lower classes of society. It is particularly stark in contrast with their typical position in Lutheran churches.

The history of Lutheranism in Tanzania, as described in Chapter One, coincides with the period of colonization. Although many aspects of worship and church leadership have changed over the past 100 years, the Lutheran Church maintains real and perceived vestiges of European influence. These include values of classism and authority. For example, the church authority structure is very hierarchical; power and control is held by the leaders of the synod, then the diocese, then ministers and congregational leaders, in decreasing order. Therefore, average churchgoers with limited monetary or social assets, like members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir, have little agency within the church. In comparison, an important strength of the charismatic movement is that it accepts and validates those who might not be highly regarded in other traditions. I do not wish to suggest that traditional Lutheranism is not empowering; however, for people without status due to wealth or ability, joining a charismatic sub-culture within a Lutheran congregation can offer obvious benefits. Charismatic communities value spiritual gifts, strong faith, and success in evangelism; unlike in the Lutheran church, one need not have any particular social class, wealth, nor even an ability to read to become a respected leader in the community. For members of the Lulu choir with limited education and material resources, the contrast between their position in a typical Lutheran congregation and that as the musical "stars" of an evangelical crusade is remarkable.

Lutheran worship services also reflect the European origins of the denomination; liturgical services, robed ministers, and deference towards the altar and church building are key elements of contemporary worship introduced by the first missionaries. I suspect that for many choir members, the apparent freedom and autonomy characteristic of charismatic crusades is particularly appealing given their familiarity with the tight control of Lutheran services. Charismatic worship practices bypass the traditional and liturgical structures set up by the Lutheran Church. For example, the authority structure typical of Lutheran churches is altered; robed ministers are replaced by guest preachers, sometimes locals who are not necessarily ordained, and frequently Americans or Africans from other nations.

This use of strangers as evangelists contrasts with the permanent ministers of Lutheran churches; although crusaders are definitely authoritarian, they are transient, and also rely heavily on other people, usually locals and not necessarily church leaders, to make the crusade event function. Secondly, at crusades the typical Lutheran worship environment is altered; the church building itself becomes unnecessary. Crusade participants create sacred space in open fields; no altar or dedicated building is required. This allows Lutherans to worship without occupying a socially defined space, thus freeing them from associations with traditional liturgical services and perhaps enabling them to participate more completely in the worship event.

For members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir, the affirmation of identity attained through becoming part of the charismatic sub-culture within the Lutheran Church is enhanced because of its constant public projection in the form of musical performance. Music is a significant identity marker: whether in the form of a hymn, a national anthem or a popular music concert, music brings certain people together while simultaneously providing a public format for asserting difference from others. Indeed, music not only represents and affirms social structures, but, as a performative art, provides a vehicle through which new social systems and meanings can be tested and created.

Martin Stokes argues that "...music is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them" (1994: 5). Thus, musical performance becomes a forum for the construction and expression of social identity.

Performing mapambio is an important vehicle whereby Lulu choir members state and disseminate their particular social identity. From my experience, this occurs in at least three ways. First, mapambio marks a social boundary between saved and unsaved. This demarcation between participants and the "Other" is an important element in the self-definition of charismatic Lutherans. Second, mapambio musically addresses and manipulates existing social structures, enabling people to resolve conflicts between urban and rural existence and feel truly themselves. Finally, mapambio literally gives a voice to charismatic Lutherans within the context of the Lutheran church, confirming their identity and drawing others to their faith.

The definition of identity relies on difference. Campbell and Rew state that "...all social identities - racial, ethnic, gendered, sexual, religious and national - find their definition in relation to significant Others just as they articulate ideas of self or selfhood" (1999: 13). Otherness is particularly emphasized in evangelical religions such as charismatic Christianity. Charismatics frequently define themselves by what they are not:

> Fundamentalist notions of spiritual warfare and social orderliness are aggressively marketed by the new evangelizing forces because they are intent on competing with a cast of spiritual enemies. They are seeking a final confrontation between Good and Evil. They see this Evil, depending on the particular local circumstances, embodied in the false relgions of socialism, Islam, humanism, feminism, and even Catholicism.[1] (Brouwer, Gifford and Rose 1996: 8)

I frequently witnessed this objectification of the unsaved in sermons at Bible studies and fellowship meetings.[2] Roman Catholics, believers of traditional religions, and especially Muslims were fervently prayed for, and spoken about as "the lost" or worse, as belonging to Satan.[3] As a result of this objectification of the unsaved, those who are born again feel an even stronger sensation of identity and belonging within their own community. The public, evangelical nature of the crusade enhances this experience. Crusades are not intended as worship venues for believers; the intention of crusade speakers is to spread the gospel message in unsaved communities (Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose 1996: 158). A real or assumed "other" exists within the range of the loudspeakers, regardless of the actual beliefs of the audience. Members of the Lulu choir musically perform their differences for the "other" in the audience at the same time as they attempt to proselytize the charismatic identity itself.

Through the performance of mapambio, participants create a certain social identity which addresses issues rising from the transition from rural to urban society; on the one hand, mapambio is particularly urban in style and instrumentation, while on the other, it recalls indigenous performance practice. From my experience with the Lulu choir, there seemed to be real tension between the desire to adjust to Dar es Salaam's cosmopolitan environment and the need to maintain some semblance of perceived "traditional" social structures and relations. Through performing mapambio, they are able to address and perhaps resolve this tension to a certain degree.

Mapambio is most often performed with electric instruments, and relies heavily on African popular music idioms. Indeed, as I demonstrated in Chapter Two, these popular features of mapambio are central to the genre. It seems possible that the recognized association between popular music and urban culture plays a part in the strong appeal of the genre in Dar es Salaam. Thus, if "identification with urban genres provides the means by which rural-urban migrants can transform themselves from peripheralised proletarians to urbanites" (Stokes 1994: 4), the performance of mapambio must allow migrants to experience and assert an urban identity.

At the same time, however, mapambio has many elements which echo traditional performance idioms. Though there is limited scholarship on the music of Tanzania's rural populations, there are certain elements common across the continent that are reflected in mapambio. Mapambio performance is highly participatory; just as in rural areas, everyone is encouraged to be involved at some level in the performance through music or dance. When mapambio is broadcast over loudspeakers, inviting participation from the surrounding neighbourhood, it serves the same function as the drum reverberating through a village, gathering people for an *ngoma* (music performance; dance; celebration). Also, mapambio is strictly oral; this emphasis on orality is fundamental to indigenous African music. Regardless of literacy, or even familiarity with Kiswahili (keeping in mind that it is a second language for nearly all migrants), its call-and-response, repetitive format makes mapambio orally accessible to all. Finally, dance and physical involvement is integral to the performance of mapambio. In African contexts, Chernoff suggests, "performance in music and dance responds ultimately to a single aesthetic concern" (1979: 149). Dance is fundamental to music-making across the continent and the physical movement involved in performing mapambio is seen by many as a recollection of indigenous performance practice. Thus, the combined experience of comopolitan desires and rural nostalgia appears to play a part in the appeal of mapambio. Beyond this, the hybridity of the genre surely addresses and aids in resolving the multiple social identities of those who perform it.

Finally, mapambio defines and affirms the social identity of charismatic Lutherans within the context of the Lutheran Church. When members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir musically perform their identity at crusades, they not only spread the message of charismatic Christianity but perhaps also challenge the Church itself. Several Lutherans told me that mapambio may be a factor in the increasing popularity of charismatic

Christianity within the Lutheran Church. The fact that Bishop Elinaza Sandoro is born again and has requested the choir to perform for him at special events indicates a strong link between the choir and high Lutheran authority. Perhaps by performing music so deeply associated with charismatic Christianity within the context of being Lutheran, the Mtoni Evangelical Choir supports a process of change in the theological demographic of the Lutheran Church in Tanzania. In this way, they claim a further degree of agency and control within the denomination.

Clearly, the manipulation, confirmation, and public assertion of social identity through the performance of mapambio is empowering. For members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir, this empowerment is taken a step further through their role as evangelists; performing mapambio is part of a process of marketing their particular social identity to non-charismatics. Through gaining converts at crusades, the identity and social position of charismatic Lutherans is further strengthened.

Community

The experience of identity enhanced through mapambio performance intersects with that of community. Charismatic groups throughout the world typically form strong communities; one of the most appealing aspects of the faith is the sense of welcome or belonging, and the practical care offered to believers. Some writers put a negative spin on the process, suggesting that evangelists manipulate or take advantage of lonely or isolated individuals who long for exactly this kind of community:

> Group cohesion has a particular appeal because so many people have been displaced from their communities of origin. Intensive rural-to-urban migration creates a vacuum into which fundamentalists can effectively interject their values, taking advantage of the massive upheaval in family kinship networks and traditional patterns of life. Since the individual is already torn away from his traditional home, there is not so much to sacrifice in this bargain - and if it works, much to gain. (Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose 1996: 181)

Although I do not like imagining "community" as a carrot on a stick leading lonely people to charismatic faith, I did witness the importance of community among the members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir.[4] For example, George Njabili, who joined the choir in 1995, arrived in Dar es Salaam from Morogoro without a job, family, or any connections. When the mwalimu of the Lulu choir, Ipiana Thom, heard him perform at a Moravian church and invited him to join the choir, George felt he had found a home. Through the connections of choir members he managed to find employment at a bank, and with their encouragement was preparing to pursue a solo career by recording an album of his own nyimbo.

Most choirs, because of their smaller size and performative nature, function as base communities within the larger church congregation(s). Each choir forms a social network or, as Barz states, an "indemnity group," which provides many roles traditionally filled by extended family and members of ethnic groups, including participating in weddings and funerals, supplying food and other material goods, counseling, "match-making," and even job assistance (1997: 215-6). Thus, becoming a member of a choir can provide personal, emotional, and even financial security; given the limited assets of members of the Lulu choir, joining the group can have important material implications. Further, the emotional support offered within the community of the choir can build individual confidence, personal identity and self-esteem, through allowing individuals without any social importance or monetary connections to hold respected, leadership positions.

This experience of community is also created and enhanced musically. Veit Erlmann has written frequently about the importance of community to migrant performers of isicathamiya in South Africa, and many of his ideas apply to performers of mapambio. Music has an important role in "the adaptation of rural popluations to the urban environment" (1990: 200); music's ability to create and reinforce community is central to this process. In a later article, Erlmann suggests that "music is particularly suited to constructions of local communities because it is itself one of the most powerful and yet most poorly understood means of producing a sense of locality and local identity" (1998: 12). Locality, he suggests, "is the result of complex and decidedly modern processes involving national regimes, capitalist relations and production... and specific forms of rural nostalgia, emerging in the city and in response to urban forms of social and spatial order" (Ibid.: 20).

Thus, for members of the Lulu choir who are migrants to Dar es Salaam, the experience of locality, or "home away from home," offered through joining a choir is further enhanced through musical performance. On a strictly musical level, mapambio is well-suited to reflect this experience of community. Several Africanist ethnomusicologists have articulated the capacity of music to reflect social values, such as identity and community. Christopher Waterman, for example, asserts that the performance of Nigerian *juju* can become a metaphor for social order:

> I have argued that juju music evokes and affectively grounds Yoruba ideals of social intercourse. The balancing for multiple rhythms and generation of layered backgrounds from interlocked patterns are "a communal examination of percussive individuality" (Thompson 1966: 91). Call-and-response singing between band captain and band boys is both cooperative behavior and aesthetic structure, forging coherences across multiple levels of musical and social organization (Blacking 1971: 104). Juju performance does not merely represent society; good juju is good social order. (1990: 220)

From my perspective, certain elements of mapambio reflect and affirm the experience of community shared by charismatic Lutherans. For example, the call-and-response structure represents "cooperative behavior," as identified by Waterman in juju. The structure of the choruses encourages individual expression; indeed, the element of individual freedom and improvisation is a key aspect in the performance of both music and dance. However, these independent parts join together in each response, and harmonic unity emerges through musical interdependence. Musically, mapambio reflects the values of community. In performance, the genre allows charismatic Lutherans to state a sense of locality and to experience the communal aspect of music-making. This multiple affirmation of community is empowering, especially for those who have lost a sense of community in the transition from rural to urban society.

Spiritual Fulfillment

One aspect of the performance of mapambio that intrigued me throughout my field research was the way in which the genre appeared to connect deeply with the performers' spiritual needs and sensibilities. Through performing mapambio, charismatic Lutherans experience not only personal identity and community, but also profound spiritual fulfillment. Most of the people who perform mapambio frequently asserted that this experience of spiritual realization, through the "touch" of the Holy Spirit, was one of the most significant elements of the genre. Certainly this aspect of mapambio is worthy of a more detailed study than I could perform. However, I will attempt to open up some space on the issue here.

As I have demonstrated, members of the Mtoni Evangelical Choir live in a difficult and no doubt stressful environment. In addition to questions of identity, many struggle to balance between tradition and modernity, and between rural and urban lifestyles. They suffer from material poverty, have limited opportunities, and lack resources to make choices that they would like to make about their lives. During the performance of mapambio at the Kurasini crusade, however, these people did not appear to be suffering emotionally from this situation. On the contrary, the spiritual fulfillment they demonstrated through the performance of mapambio appeared to be fundamentally empowering.

Charismatic theology itself provides members of the choir with tools to make sense of their lived experience. Jean Comaroff's historical study of colonialism and Christianity among the Tshidi of South Africa, specifically the development of Zionism, has significant similarities to my project. She confirms that religious belief enables people to gain a sense of agency in terms of their lived experience:

> ...like American Pentecostalism, European counterorthodoxies... have historically been an important source of symbols and practices for dissidents in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean, who find in them a rejection of the logic of rational materialism and its reified religion. Despite their diverse origins, these symbolic orders share an opposition to the categories of bourgeois liberal secularism; and all promise to subvert the divisive structures of colonial society, returning to the displaced a tangible identity and *the power to impose coherence upon a disarticulated world*. (1985: 254, emphasis added)

This point is reiterated by Brouwer, Gifford and Rose, who argue that charismatic groups such as the Lulu choir "offer... a sense of order, psychically for the individual and socially on the grass-roots level... This religious tradition helps people exercise control in a seemingly uncontrollable world through strict standards of 'right living.' Incomprehensible cycles of poverty and violence are made comprehensible through an all-encompassing theology" (1996: 179). When community support is combined with the fundamentally empowering tenets of charismatic faith,[5] people seem to feel a strong sense of self and agency. Further affirmation occurs through successfully following the strict rules for living associated with this ideology. For example, believers are regularly admonished through sermons and teaching to abstain from drinking alcohol, gambling, and committing adultery, and to follow the Ten Commandments. As a result, "while individuals may be relatively powerless to change large-scale social and political structures, within the sphere of their private lives they can bring control, order, and dignity" (Ibid.: 180). Finally, in light of the eternal reward promised to charismatic believers, problems and crises of daily existence that might otherwise seem staggering can become less significant, even manageable.

Clearly, becoming charismatic can in itself afford believers an experience of agency, through individual empowerment and communal affirmation. From my observation, this experience is further intensified through musical performance. Even scholars outside music-related fields confirm that "one of the greatest appeals of the new Pentecostal groups is the manner of worship... The service is driven by music, often quite professionally orchestrated with drums and guitars, so that the rhythm of expression evokes the appropriate expression of grief or joy" (Ibid.: 180). Not only does music enhance the experience of spirituality, but it allows the acting out of faith in a format that is both shared with others, and performed publically for an audience of other believers and non-believers.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the performance of mapambio is seen as an integral element of charismatic events in Dar es Salaam. When members of the Lulu choir and other charismatic Lutherans perform mapambio, they experience spirituality in a powerful way. As George Njabili told me, "praising and worship is done much [through] singing mapambio" (Interview, July 19, 1997). They also musically create a social space in which they can assert a distinctive and dynamic identity and experience a strong affirmation of community. Finally, it seems that mapambio performance triggers an emotional and mental state in which the performer experiences a direct connection with the Holy Spirit. George's explanation for this was that mapambio served a function to "draw down the Holy Spirit," so that performers might be touched by the power of God.

I can see several possible reasons why mapambio is associated with the experience of the divine. On a certain level, the music can be interpreted as a trigger for learned responses among performers. Participants at charismatic events know that during the performance of mapambio it is common to feel the power of the Holy Spirit. Beyond this basic reason, mapambio seems to have features that make it particularly appropriate for this purpose, perhaps even more than other genres performed by Christians in Tanzania. Musically, mapambio are as complex in terms of influence as those who perform them. As discussed in Chapter Two, they have a harmonic structure borrowed from Western music, and the origins of melodies range from American revival songs, German hymns, to traditional Tanzanian or South African tunes. I was told with almost equal frequency the mapambio were brought by Americans, and that they are distinctly "African." Somehow, the music and method of performance that allows people to recognize diverse influences, but still claim the genre as their own. As such, mapambio seems to reconcile the heterogenous cultural traditions of charismatic Lutherans in Tanzania. Some people, like Gideon Mdegella, feel that mapambio is one genre that best represents a distinctly Tanzanian charismatic identity:

> Yeah, as I say, if you want to make something Tanzanian you have to be Tanzanian. I don't just say this as my own opinion or principle, no. I'm trying to display the actual experience, social experience. People normally feel themselves if they do things in their own way, you know, which identifies them as, which goes with their identity. They feel more at home, yeah. We have had, we sometimes have these open area Gospel evangelism, like that one brought in by Bunke [contemporary German evangelist, Reinhold Bunke] (*sic*) and their like. You won't there, you won't, you never hear them there singing German hymns, English hymns [i.e. hymns originating from Europe], no. We have what we call mapambio. They are like short, locally originated songs, short ones, which can easily be sung by everybody in their local melodies. Actually you see them more excited, and they feel at home doing that than if you give them a foreign kwaya piece. So, I wanted to say that through experience you will find that a society would like to present itself in its own terms. Yeah. The way that suits them best, which they can more easily and freely express themselves. Yeah. (Interview between Gideon Mdegella and Gregory Barz, March 6, 1994)

Perhaps because mapambio allows people to feel more "at home," they are more likely to experience spiritual fulfillment through connection with the Holy Spirit. The concept of freedom, introduced here by Mdegella, was one frequently evoked by Tanzanians as a reason for the genre's empowering characteristics. The concept of freedom has particular resonance among formerly colonized people with limited resources and opportunity. When such people are truly able to express themselves freely, the experience of empowerment and self-determination is overwhelmingly effectual. George Njabili put it thus:

> We are always using mapambio in praising and worship, because we find that they are not bound by anything. You can sing even out of tune. You can sing so much louder than others, the way you feel it... to allow the freedom, you know, because we differ. We differ. (Interview, July 19, 1997)

In this quote, one sees how empowerment or agency is personally experienced through music. According to George, performers of mapambio can be completely themselves, can feel personal autonomy while also musically stating association with a particular community. Further, they feel free because they are able to address and make sense of their lived experience. Mapambio, as Mdegella suggests, is distinctly Tanzanian; as such, performers can feel particularly grounded, as agents in their own experience. Further, they feel free because of the sense of spiritual fulfillment that comes through performing mapambio. Musically, they feel that they move beyond the problems and concerns of daily existence, and come to experience the Holy

Spirit directly. The combination of spiritual fulfillment and freedom is profoundly empowering.

Conclusions

In this thesis, I have drawn attention to mapambio, and the importance of the genre in the spiritual and social experience and behaviour of charismatic Lutherans. I have touched on the history of mapambio and the charismatic movement, as well as the musical and performative features of the genre. I have also presented an ethnography of one group of charismatic Lutherans, the Mtoni Evangelical Choir. Finally, I have described one context in which the choir performs mapambio, and offered some ideas about how such performances address needs arising from their lived experience. It seems clear that mapambio is a significant form of expressing identity and community, and experiencing spiritual fulfillment. As a result, those who perform mapambio experience agency and empowerment.

Obviously there are many aspects of mapambio performance that deserve more detailed analysis. Had I not been forced to give up my research early, I would have gone on a two-week tour with the choir to Malawi. I had hoped to use this journey as the focus of my thesis, and discuss how mapambio were used in evangelical settings, as well as in rehearsals, Bible studies, and other contexts specific to the choir. It would also have given me a wonderful opportunity to become closer to members of the choir, adding depth to my perspective of their experiences. Also, I was beginning to address further the physical performance of mapambio, and would have loved to draw from people a description of their sensations in performing mapambio as compared to other genres. Finally, I wanted to examine the influence of material poverty on the popularity of charismatic faith among members of the choir, particularly as relates to a desire for economic betterment through association with America. As far as I could see, one way that Tanzanians can attain a sense of agency is through association with more powerful people or entities. Certainly the connection between the charismatic movement and America was recognizable, and I would like to study just how this affected the popularity of the movement. Choir members shared with me elaborate plans for making the most of opportunities and gaining wealth; George hoped for the success of a solo recording, others were entrepreneurial, and another shared her intention of marrying an *mzungu* (white person). Perhaps in the meantime, these people experience the wealth of America vicariously through participation in charismatic Christianity.

Despite being unable to pursue my original plans, I am confident that this thesis addresses a certain need in the literature. No one has previously written about mapambio in ethnographic detail, or about the genre in terms of the experience of empowerment gleaned by performers. Obviously, I do not know whether mapambio will "last" as a distinctly charismatic genre, or how it will change before another researcher might approach the topic. However, I have at least entered the academic dialogue, and added to a field that is still under-researched: contemporary East African religious music.

I want to conclude the thesis with a verbal image from the Kurasini crusade that for me captures charismatic experience in Tanzania. As George drew the final pambio to a close, I stopped dancing and looked toward the stage. In front of me 100 people stood with arms raised, faces uplifted to the sky. They were undoubtedly ethnically diverse, and many were strangers to each other, but in this event they came together to express shared belief and social identity, as well as the enjoyment of musical performance. People began to shout and cheer, and even for me, a cultural, social, and religious outsider, the sense of community was overwhelming. They were, in Gideon Mdegella's words, presenting themselves "on their own terms." I will hold forever the image of many dark hands open against the sky, illuminated by the glow of a distant street light, and the sound of voices raised in worship and celebration. For me, this image captures the experience of empowerment, of the affirmation of identity, community, and of deep spiritual fulfillment.

Endnotes

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[1] Presumably given Tanzania's socialist political history, the evils of socialism were not the basis of any sermon that I heard in Dar es Salaam.

[2] Most of the sermons I heard were in Kiswahili, so my understanding of them was limited. However, I was usually given a detailed and continous commentary by Zawadi, whether I asked for it or not!

[3] On this issue, Zawadi, a Roman Catholic, served as an "indigenous expert" (Qureshi 1999: 319). Her coldly polite response to the attempts of the charismatics to convert her made the objectification of the unsaved particularly clear to me, in a way it might not have been otherwise.

[4] My perspective on the issue of community is limited to my experiences with the choir; therefore I will focus discussion of community on the choir rather than the charismatic Lutheran community at large. Because so many charismatic Lutherans belong to choirs, however, the experience of community I discuss here is surely not limited to the Mtoni Evangelical Choir.

[5] I repeat some of the empowering aspects of charismatic faith: God can and does perform miracles; the Holy Spirit "touches" and imparts gifts to individuals personally; each believer is encouraged to believe he is valuable to God and the community, regardless of economic or social assets.

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